

# THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES

Volume 1

NICOLAS PERROT









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THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND  
REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES











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# THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES

as described by Nicolas Perrot, French commandant in the Northwest; Bacqueville de la Potherie, French royal commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston, American army officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States agent at Fort Armstrong

Translated, edited, annotated, and with bibliography  
and index by

EMMA HELEN BLAIR

*With portraits, map, facsimiles, and views*

VOLUME I



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EMMA HELEN BLAIR

TO  
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

who long has led the van of research in the history of the great Middle West, and has done most to make known its importance in the development of the American nation, this contribution to its early history is dedicated by one of his former students.





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## PREFACE

Among the subjects of perennial interest, not only to historical students but to the general reading public, are the customs, character, and beliefs of the North American Indians, and their relations with the white peoples who have possessed themselves of the vast territories once occupied by those aborigines. The present work is devoted to these subjects, its text presenting old French and American memoirs by writers who, having spent many years among the Indians, were most competent and reliable as authority on aboriginal life. The *Mémoire* of Nicolas Perrot (written probably during 1680 to 1718, but not published until 1864), and La Pothérie's *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale* (first published in 1716), have long been known to historical writers, and often cited by them; but these works are largely unknown to the reading public, as they long since passed out of print, and have never been published in English. Yet they are original sources of prime importance to students of Indian history and life; for Perrot, the most noted of the Canadian *coureurs de bois*, spent most of his life among the western tribes, and was a keen and shrewd observer – while it is his lost memoirs on Indian affairs which, as the best authorities surmise, furnished material for most of La Pothérie's second volume (the part of his *Histoire* which is used in the present work).

Very appropriately are these narratives of the French domination over the Indians followed by two valuable



papers on the natives after they passed under the control of the United States; these were written a century later, by American officials who were perhaps equally conversant with the Indian tribes of the Northwest Territory. One of these was Major Morrell Marston, U.S.A., commanding at Fort Armstrong (located at the present Rock Island, Ill.), who in 1820 sent a report on the Sauk and Fox tribes to Reverend Dr. Jedidiah Morse, a special agent sent in that year by President Monroe to investigate the conditions and needs of the Indian tribes in the United States. Dr. Morse's report of this mission (published in 1822) is a most valuable storehouse of information on that subject; but it is known mainly to historical writers, and is almost buried under nearly a century's dust. For the present publication I have used the original autograph manuscript of Marston, which is now in the Manuscript Department of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. This statement applies equally to the document which follows Marston's, the "Account of the manners and customs of the Sauk and Fox nations" furnished (in 1827) to Gen. William Clark, then U.S. superintendent of Indian affairs, by Thomas Forsyth, government agent among those tribes—a man who was considered one of the ablest of the Indian agents of his time, and was almost the counterpart of Perrot in his understanding of Indian character, influence over the tribes, and shrewdness of judgment. This paper by him has never before been printed in any form. To these documents I have added certain appendices which, with the extensive annotations provided, supply desirable sidelights, especially on the real character of the American Indian—all drawn from the best authorities, and presenting the subject in the light of actual observation and scientific method. By this treatment I

have endeavored to bring the work down to the present day, and render it a connected and homogeneous whole.

Perrot's life among the Indian tribes began as early as 1665, little more than a half-century after the founding of Quebec; and during nearly forty years he traveled and lived among the Indians—successively as engagé to the Jesuit missionaries, *coureur de bois* and trader, explorer, and agent of the Quebec government. His narrative greatly illumines the history of the relations between the French colony and the Indian tribes within its sphere of influence, and still more the character and customs of the aboriginal peoples in their primitive condition; for he was the first white visitor to several of the western tribes, and even those of the east were not yet very greatly altered by contact with Europeans. He describes the creation myths and the religious ideas of the Algonquian peoples; their occupations, modes of hunting, and sports; their marriage and burial customs; their traits of character, both good and bad. He recounts the wars between the Algonkins and Iroquois, and the expulsion of the Hurons from their ancient homes by the latter; the flight westward of the peoples defeated and ruined by the fierce Iroquois; the relations of the French with all the savage peoples; and the extension of French domination and possession toward the west. After relating various instances of treachery committed by the Hurons, he dilates on the insolence and vainglory of the savages' nature, and the impossibility of relying on them for loyalty to France; and closes by outlining the attitude and policy which the French ought to assume toward the western tribes. Father Tailhan, the first editor of Perrot, performed his task *con amore*, and was an excellent editor, even from the standpoint of our modern historical methods. He did not

alter or obscure the text, or even attempt to "modernize" it; he explained all his emendations, was careful and fair in statement, and sought not his own glory; and his portrait of Perrot, as regards both character and abilities, is well drawn. His annotations were voluminous, unnecessarily so at the present time, on account of the greater accessibility of the works on which he drew; and I have therefore condensed them as much as possible, in order to obtain space for later and more scientific information—retaining, however, all that is useful to the modern reader, as well as many of Tailhan's comments on Indian character and the policy of the whites toward the dispossessed Indian tribes.

Perrot's lost writings evidently reappear in the next document here presented, the second volume of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*. This is occupied with the tribes west of Lake Huron, and contains much information that is nowhere else found, especially regarding the peoples along the upper Mississippi; it describes with considerable detail their customs, mode of life, and character; their early tribal history; and their relations with each other and with the French. This last feature is of especial value, as describing the nature and course of intertribal and interracial politics in that early period (over two centuries ago) when these great commonwealths of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota were still an almost unbroken wilderness, inhabited only by savage and often nomadic tribes, and explored only by a few adventurous Frenchmen—such as Perrot, La Salle, and Joliet—and a few zealous and intrepid missionaries, like Dablon, Allouez, and Marquette. These white men found the tribes of that region in a highly primitive social state, at that time entirely unaffected, or but slight-



ly modified, by contact with European civilization ; and their observations, as recorded in Perrot, La Potherie, Charlevoix, and the Jesuit *Relations*, are invaluable as records of early aboriginal life, customs, and beliefs, and for the study of primitive society.]

Of the same character are the relations of Marston and Forsyth at a later period, save that in their time all the Indian tribes had become more influenced by contact with the white people, and that their forced exodus to the west side of the Mississippi was well under way, before the steady pressure of white migration to the open, fertile regions of the Central West. Marston made diligent inquiries regarding the beliefs, customs, mode of life, occupations, etc., of the Sauk and Fox tribes ; and he presents, besides these matters, sketches of their leading chiefs, enumeration of the clans within the tribes, etc. At the close of his letter, he criticizes the government factory system, and makes suggestions as to the best way of carrying on the Indian trade and improving the material and social condition of the Indians.

Equally interesting and valuable is Forsyth's account of the same tribes, written seven years later ; to some extent he covers the same ground as does Marston, but he adds much new material. He describes the relations of the Sauk and Fox with other tribes, and with the whites ; their mode of warfare, and their military societies ; their customs and mode of life ; their marriage and funeral ceremonies, and the naming and training of children ; their physical traits, and their treatment of disease ; their ideas of the universe, religious beliefs, and mental traits ; their amusements, hunting, etc. At the end of this memoir, Forsyth presents some observations on the language of those tribes, and a vocabulary of considerable length.

Following these documents are three appendices: (A) a biographical sketch of Nicolas Perrot, condensed from Tailhan's notes; (B) notes by leading ethnologists on Indian social organization, mental and moral traits, religious beliefs, and some important religious movements among western tribes; (C) letters written to the editor by missionaries and other competent observers, describing the character and present condition of the Sioux, Potawatomi, and Winnebago tribes.

All these documents are of great value as original accounts of the western tribes, obtained through personal observation and inquiry by reliable and competent men, and their writings are a precious contribution to both historical and ethnological knowledge. But perhaps even more valuable to the student in those fields are the conclusions that have thus far been reached by the ethnologists of to-day, based on collected data of this sort and on their own studies of aboriginal life and thought, and considered in the light of modern science and philosophy. Much of this valuable material it has been my privilege to secure for the present work, through the generous coöperation of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, the chief officials of which have kindly furnished to me not only answers to various special inquiries, but the proof-sheets of volume two, *Handbook of American Indians*, permitting me to use in my annotations, etc., such matter as I might desire. This liberality has enabled me to present to my readers the latest and most reliable information regarding many topics, which otherwise could have been obtained only by long and tedious search through many printed volumes and even in some cases would have been entirely inaccessible. With this aid, I have endeavored to round out and unify the subject as presented in the documents

here published, and to place before the reader a more accurate and lifelike view of aboriginal life and character than is usually entertained by readers who know the Indian mainly through newspaper and magazine "stories," novels, and "Wild West shows." My work on these volumes will be well repaid if those who read them gain a clearer realization that the Indian is in reality very much the same kind of being that his white brother would have been if put in the red man's place; and that we all, whether red, black, brown, yellow, or white, belong to one great human race, the work of one Creator, the children of one common Father.

The deepening and growing consciousness in the world of human brotherhood, and of our responsibility toward one another, is perhaps the most cheering token of progress and upward growth in this latter day; but unfortunately one still encounters occasional survivals of the idea once current in certain quarters that "there is no good Indian except a dead one." Inhuman and brutal as this is, it has been uttered even by persons who called themselves Christians; and occasion still remains to protest against such cruel and unjust notions. Complete refutation of them is found in the many instances of noble words and deeds by Indians; in the progress made by some of the tribes in civilization and religious life; in the results of modern ethnological research and study; and in the practical application of the Golden Rule, which, translated into the vernacular, reads, "Put yourself in his place." There is of course, as every one knows, an evil side in the savage character; the history of many tribes and many individuals is blackened by duplicity, treachery, and ferocious cruelty; and there are depraved Indians, as well as good ones. But it must not be forgotten that the Indians have, with some exceptions, dur-



ing most of our acquaintance with them been in the primitive stages of culture, and we can not in justice apply to them the same strictness of judgment to which we who have passed through many more centuries of evolution and progress are rightly liable; that the white man's record in the border wars and even in later dealings with the Indians, is not so spotless that we can cast all the blame on the other side; and that in no case is it right to censure all for the evil deeds of some.

The government of the United States is doing all in its power, in most cases, for the best welfare of the Indian peoples under its care; but it needs for this purpose a backing of public interest and opinion even stronger than it has thus far received, and, still more, the efforts of each individual citizen to aid, by word and deed, in securing just and humane treatment for the Indians. So long as greedy and conscienceless traders sell to them (in violation of the laws) vile whisky and shoddy or adulterated goods, so long as other unscrupulous white men take advantage of their ignorance or lack of judgment to cheat them in regard to their work or other business dealings, so long will the efforts of missionaries, government officials, and others who are trying to uplift the Indians be to a certain extent neutralized; and public opinion should be interested and strong enough to rebuke sharply all such evil acts, no matter by whom committed. I do not ask for any sentimental effusion or lavish giving in behalf of the Indians; but only for justice in all our dealings with them, and for the same humane and kind interest in improving their material and moral condition that we consider proper for the poor or ignorant classes in our white population. Let them be given a "square deal" in every way, and there is no doubt that in time they will prove themselves worthy of it.

My cordial thanks are tendered to those who have furnished information and other aid in the preparation of this work. Every contribution that I have used has been credited to its proper source, and is gratefully appreciated. Especial recognition is due to Dr. W. H. Holmes (now curator of ethnological department in U.S. National Museum) and Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for aid and favors which I have already mentioned; Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University (late of University of Wisconsin), for valuable criticism and suggestions; Mr. Charles E. Brown, secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and curator of the State Historical Museum, for valuable aid; Dr. R. G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, for permission to use some sixty pages of matter in Wisconsin *Historical Collections*, volume sixteen (translated for that work from Perrot and La Potherie by the present editor), and other courtesies; and Mr. Frank E. Stevens, Sycamore, Ill., for photograph of Fort Armstrong and various information. Thanks are also extended to Dr. W. B. Hinsdale, of the University of Michigan; Sister Lillian, S.H.N., Oneida, Wis.; Gardner P. Stickney, Milwaukee, Wis.; Hon. Francis E. Leupp, late commissioner of Indian affairs; and Dr. E. Kremers, University of Wisconsin, for various courtesies.

E. H. B.

Madison, Wis., January, 1911.





MEMOIR ON THE MANNERS,  
customs, and religion of the savages of  
North America. By Nicolas Perrot.

Edited and published (in French) for the first  
time (Leipzig and Paris, 1864) by the Reverend  
Jules Tailhan, S.J.

Now first translated into English.



## Preface to the original French edition

In 1671 France, already mistress of Acadia, and of Canada as far as Lake Ontario, took possession of all the regions, discovered or to be discovered, from the Northern Sea to the Southern Sea, and from the Western Sea to Lakes Huron and Superior. Thus by a stroke of the pen, and in the presence and with the consent of some fifteen tribes hastily called together, she appropriated to herself the exclusive dominion of all North America save the English colonies bordering on the Atlantic, and Mexico, which was subject to Spain. Soon afterward (1682 and 1689), the cession of Louisiana and the Sioux country, to which the natives gave more or less actual consent, confirmed, so far as the Mississippi Valley was concerned, the somewhat disputable rights originating in that first assumption of possession. Unfortunately, the actual occupation of the territory was not commensurate with this enormous extension of nominal sovereignty. There were seven or eight thousand Frenchmen, clustered in little settlements in the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal, or scattered along both banks of the St. Lawrence from Cap Tourmente to the infant village of La Chine; in such condition was the colonization of Canada, even after sixty years. Further up the river, toward the west, Fort Frontenac and four or five posts of less importance, a dozen missionaries, and a few hundred *coureurs de bois*,<sup>1</sup> were all that reminded the

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<sup>1</sup> Literally, "forest rovers" or "rangers" — preferably the former wording, since the latter is now applied to officials in the United States Forestry Service. See account of these men and their occupation, in note 164. — Ed.

traveler that he was treading on French soil. On the other hand, and while the European population was receiving hardly perceptible accessions, the aboriginal race was continually diminishing with disheartening rapidity. The flourishing settlements in which Jacques Cartier in 1535 met so friendly a reception had already ceased to exist in the time of Champlain; and the numerous tribes of Hurons and Algonquins whose alliance the founder of Quebec accepted a century later [than Cartier] had, at the period of which we speak, been overwhelmed by the attacks of the Iroquois, or had entirely disappeared, or outlived their ruin only in scattered and miserable remnants. In order to find again, in the entire extent of the French possessions, even a faint image of the former power and prosperity of the savages, it was necessary in 1689 to search for it as far away as the Miamis and the Maskoutens, at the apex of the triangle which the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence together form.

It was there, in the midst of peoples of diverse races—who had been always established in that region, the most remote from New France, or who had more recently fled thither as being an asylum inaccessible to their enemies—that Nicolas Perrot,<sup>2</sup> the author of the present memoir, resided almost habitually from 1665 to 1699. At first an ordinary *coureur de bois* by occupation (1665-1684), and on occasion an *interpreter* (1671 and 1701), he was later, under the successive governments of La Barre, Denonville, and Frontenac (1684-1699), commissioned to exercise an authority analogous to that of our chiefs of "Arab bureaus"<sup>3</sup> in Algeria. His famil-

<sup>2</sup> See biographical notice of Perrot, Volume II, appendix A. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> In 1860 the government of Algeria was reorganized. "Under the authority of the governor-general, the administration was divided between two high

ilarity with the languages of the country, his natural eloquence, and the happy mingling of bravery, sangfroid, and generosity which formed the basis of his character—these soon won for him the esteem, confidence, and even affection of the natives, at least so far as those people are accessible to this last feeling. The Poutéouatamis, the Maloumins, the Outagamis, the Miamis and Maskoutens, the Ayoës, and the Sioux accorded to him, with the honors of the calumet, the rights and prerogatives which their own chiefs enjoyed; and not less was his influence over the Outaouais and the Tionnontaté Hurons. We hasten to add to his praises the fact that he placed at the service of the [French] colony this influence, so legitimately acquired, as long as he was permitted to employ it—that is, up to the time when the suppression of the French posts in Michigan and Wisconsin, and that of the [fur] trade,<sup>4</sup> broke off the relations between him and the savages.

Those long years of intimate and daily intercourse with the western tribes had initiated Perrot in all the secrets of their customs, their traditions, and their history. Returning to private life, and becoming master of some leisure, he resolved to commit to writing this

functionaries, independent of each other, a lieutenant-governor and a director of civil affairs. The former was not only commander-in-chief of the army of Africa; he had also the administration of the military jurisdiction, exercised through three generals of division and the 'Arab bureaux' placed under their authority." See Leroy-Beaulieu's *L'Algérie et la Tunisie* (Paris, 1897), 286. — ED.

<sup>4</sup> The fur trade of Canada was from the first a royal monopoly, usually "farmed out" to either individuals or trading companies; but illegal traffic, carried on by the *coureurs de bois* and even by many government officials, diverted much of the profit from the royal treasury, and led to numerous efforts to restrict and punish it. Tailhan here alludes to the revocation in 1698 of the twenty-five licenses granted by the crown (1681) to private persons to carry on the fur trade. These were restored in 1716, but revoked three years later; and again restored in 1726. — ED.



treasure of knowledge gradually gathered at the price of so many fatigues and dangers; and thus was composed the memoir which we are now publishing for the first time. In writing it, Perrot had in mind no other object than to enlighten confidentially the intendant of Canada<sup>5</sup> in regard to the real characters of the tribes in alliance with or hostile to France, and the relations which ought to be maintained with them. He therefore did not yield to the desire for making himself conspicuous, or to the inducement, at once so easy and so powerful, to vilify his equals or his superiors for the benefit of a jealous mediocrity. [He relates what he knew, and what he saw with his own eyes; he relates it according to his ability, without any literary pretension, without any anxiety for the favors of a public for which he did not intend his work; and he stops writing when his supply of paper comes to an end.] Moreover, he is never seen to distort the facts in order to accommodate them to the requirements of his own self-love. If he makes mistakes (and that sometimes occurs), it is in points of little importance, or in regard to a few events of which he had not been an actual witness. In short, in the memoir which he has left us the evident imperfection of its form is amply redeemed by the exactness of the information which constitutes its groundwork. The sincerity and the special knowledge of Perrot are, moreover, placed beyond any doubt by the perfect agreement which prevails between him and the best informed writers, either preceding or contemporary with him. Their accounts, not only the printed but the unpublished ones, confirm

<sup>5</sup> Referring to Claude Michel Bégon, who held office from August, 1712, to August, 1726. The intendant (usually a lawyer) had charge of the affairs of finance, justice, and police in the colony; the office was created partly to relieve the governor from those responsibilities, partly as a check on his conduct when arbitrary or illegal. As might be expected, the relations between these two officials were seldom friendly. — Ed.

at nearly all points the assertions of our author. One may be easily convinced of this, by glancing over the notes in which I have opposed the evidence of those relations to the criticisms which some anonymous person has written on the margins of our manuscript.<sup>6</sup>

It is, again, to those ancient and precious documents that I have had recourse, whenever there has been a question of elucidating or completing Perrot's narrative. I have followed the same course in the notices, more or less extensive, which it has seemed to me ought to be devoted, either to the author himself, or to such of the savage tribes as he mentions oftenest in his work. In these matters, the rôle of reporter is the only one which could be fitting for me. In order to be more faithful to this, I have frequently substituted the full citation of texts for the mere references whose exactness it would sometimes have been difficult to verify. The reader will thus have, in the more important questions, facilities for forming his judgment from the documents themselves.

There exists but one copy (of the last century) of Perrot's memoir, in all probability the same which was used by Father Charlevoix,<sup>7</sup> and which he obtained from Monsieur Bégon, intendant of Canada, in 1721. Our edition is a scrupulous reproduction of that copy. When at various times an addition or a correction has appeared to me necessary, I have introduced it into the text, but within brackets, retaining along with it the original reading, in order that the reader may always be able to recognize what properly belongs to Perrot. Moreover, of these additions or corrections there is little of which I

<sup>6</sup> Notes made by this anonymous annotator will be indicated by ANON., following. — Ed.

<sup>7</sup> Pierre F. X. de Charlevoix, a noted Jesuit historian, whose work entitled *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744) is one of our most valued authorities for the early history of New France and its peoples. — Ed.



am the author; nearly all of them appear written above the lines in the manuscript which I have employed for this edition.

In conclusion, permit me to return thanks to my friend and former colleague in the University of Québec, Monsieur the abbé Ferland; and to Monsieur Margry,<sup>8</sup> for a long time well known on account of his learned researches in the history of our colonies. The advice and information received from them have admirably aided me in fulfilling with fewer imperfections the task which I had assumed.

J. TAILHAN.<sup>9</sup>

Paris, July 3, 1864.

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<sup>8</sup> Pierre Margry (1818-1894) was for many years archivist of the Ministry of Marine and Colonies at Paris, and while in that post made industrious researches in the Mss. under his charge for such as related to French exploration and colonization in North America. A selection of these was published by him (Paris, 1876-1886), under the title *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale (1614-1754)*; to enable him to do this the U.S. Congress voted (1873) to subscribe for five hundred copies of the work. A large part of its contents is devoted to the achievements of La Salle, for whom Margry claimed the first discovery of the Mississippi River; a great controversy arose among historical writers and students over this question, but the best authorities have regarded the weight of evidence as favoring the priority of Marquette and Joliet in making this discovery.

Abbé J. B. A. Ferland, a prominent Canadian historian, is best known by his *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1861, 1865), a valuable work displaying much historical ability, thoroughness, and conscientious scholarship. — Ed.

<sup>9</sup> Jules Tailhan was born at Limoux, France, Jan. 6, 1816; he entered the Jesuit novitiate Oct. 17, 1841, and two years of his scholastic life were spent in the Jesuit college of Quebec. For several years he was librarian of the École de Ste. Geneviève at Paris, and long an agent there for missions abroad; and he died in that city June 26, 1891. Besides his editorship of Perrot's *Mémoire*, he wrote a few books (chiefly in his earlier years, and on theological subjects); and many articles for magazines and reviews, on matters relating to bibliography and literature and Spanish history. See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles and Paris, 1890-1900). — Ed.

# I. Beliefs of the savage tribes of North America regarding the creation of the world, before Europeans had visited and associated with them

¶ All the peoples who inhabit North America have no knowledge about the creation of the world save what they have learned from the Europeans who discovered them, and those with whom they have constant intercourse; and they give hardly any attention even to that knowledge.] Among them there is no knowledge of letters or of the art of writing; and all their history of ancient times proves to be only confused and fabulous notions, which are so simple, so gross, and so ridiculous that they only deserve to be brought to light in order to show the ignorance and rudeness of those peoples.

¶ They believe that before the earth was created there was nothing but water; that upon this vast extent of water floated a great wooden raft,<sup>10</sup> upon which were

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<sup>10</sup> French, *cageux*, meaning "a wooden raft or sledge;" sometimes is written *cageux* or *caieul* in the Jesuit *Relations*. This word is still used in Canada.

—TAILHAN.

The annotations made by Tailhan on Perrot's narrative are detailed and voluminous, so much so that they occupy more space than the text itself; he carefully examined the best early authorities on the history of New France and its peoples—the *Relations* of the Jesuit missionaries; the works of Champlain, La Potherie, Charlevoix, Lafitau, and others; the *Lettres édifiantes*—and cited from these very fully whatever might throw light on Perrot's memoir. At that time these works were less widely known and less accessible than they are now, and historical students had reason for much gratitude to this learned and scholarly priest for placing before them the fruits of his researches. Since Tailhan's day, the multiplication and greater publicity of libraries and the increased activity of private collectors have made those valuable works more accessible to students; and, moreover, editions of Charlevoix, parts of

all the animals, of various kinds, which exist on earth; and the chief of these, they say, was the Great Hare. He looked about for some spot of solid ground where they could land; but as nothing could be seen on the water save swans and other river-birds, he began to be discouraged. He saw no other hope than to induce the beaver to dive, in order to bring up a little soil from the bottom of the water; and he assured the beaver, in the name of all the animals, that if he returned with even one grain of soil, he would produce from it land sufficiently spacious to contain and feed all of them. But the beaver tried to excuse himself from this undertaking, giving as his reason that he had already dived in the neighborhood of the raft without finding there any indication of a bottom. Nevertheless, he was so urgently pressed to attempt again this great enterprise that he took the risk of it and dived. He remained so long without coming to the surface that those who had entreated him to go believed that he was drowned; but finally he was seen appearing, almost dead, and motionless. Then all the other animals, seeing that he was in no condition to climb upon the raft, immediately exerted themselves to drag him up

*Lettres édifiantes*, and especially of the *Jesuit Relations*, in English translation, have placed these within reach of readers unacquainted with the French language. In this new edition and translation of Perrot, therefore, the editor has deemed it best to omit most of the long citations from those works, retaining, however, full references to the volumes and pages. In reading the *Jesuit Relations* (of which full sets of the original editions are even now quite rare) Tailhan used the Quebec edition; but as the various *Relations* are therein separately paged, his references to them extend in the present edition only to the chapter, which can be consulted even more easily in the Cleveland reissue (1896-1901), entitled *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. The latter edition is cited in the present annotations as *Jesuit Relations*; the former, simply as *Relation* of 1650, etc. By shortening Tailhan's annotations (in which, however, all that is really valuable has been carefully retained), more space has been secured for later and more scientific information. It may be added here that in the necessary condensation of Tailhan's notes, and of those obtained from the invaluable *Handbook of American Indians*, the exact language of each writer has been used when possible, and is enclosed in quotation marks. — Ed.







on it; and after they had carefully examined his claws and tail they found nothing thereon.

Their slight remaining hope of being able to save their lives induced them to address the otter, and entreat him to make another effort to search for a little soil at the bottom of the water. They represented to him that he would go down quite as much for his own welfare as for theirs; the otter yielded to their just expostulations, and plunged into the water. He remained at the bottom longer than the beaver had done, and returned to them in the same condition as the latter, and with as little result.

The impossibility of finding a dwelling-place where they could maintain themselves left them nothing more to hope for; when the muskrat proposed that, if they wished, he should go to try to find a bottom, and said that he also believed that he could bring up some sand from it. The animals did not depend much on this undertaking, since the beaver and the otter, who were far stronger than he, had not been able to carry it out; however, they encouraged him to go, and even promised that he should be ruler over the whole country if he succeeded in accomplishing his plan. The muskrat then jumped into the water, and boldly dived; and, after he had remained there nearly twenty-four hours he made his appearance at the edge of the raft, his belly uppermost, motionless, and his four feet tightly clenched. The other animals took hold of him, and carefully drew him up on the raft. They unclosed one of his paws, then a second, then a third, and finally the fourth one, in which there was between the claws a little grain of sand.

The Great Hare, who had promised to form a broad and spacious land, took this grain of sand, and let it fall upon the raft, when it began to increase; then

he took a part of it, and scattered this about, which caused the mass of soil to grow larger and larger. When it had reached the size of a mountain, he started to walk around it, and it steadily increased in size to the extent of his path. As soon as he thought it was large enough, he ordered the fox to go to inspect his work, with power to enlarge it still more; and the latter obeyed. The fox, when he had ascertained that it was sufficiently extensive for him to secure easily his own prey, returned to the Great Hare to inform him that the land was able to contain and support all the animals. At this report, the Great Hare made a tour throughout his creation and found that it was incomplete. Since then, he has not been willing to trust any of the other animals, and continues always to increase what he has made, by moving without cessation around the earth. This idea causes the savages to say, when they hear loud noises in the hollows of the mountains, that the Great Hare is still enlarging the earth; they pay honors to him, and regard him as the deity who created it. Such is the information which those peoples give us regarding the creation of the world, which they believe to be always borne upon that raft. As for the sea and the firmament, they assert that these have existed for all time.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "The traditions collected by Perrot, in this chapter and the following, were common to the greater part of the peoples of New France," found, with greater or less variation, among not only the Algonquian tribes but those of the Huron-Iroquois family (consult Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. iii, 344; *Lettres édifiantes*, Paris, ed. 1781, vol. iv, 168, 169; and *Jesuit Relations* — of 1633; of 1634, chap. iv; of 1636, part 2, chap. i). But Perrot pays most attention to the traditions and beliefs of the Outaouais of the lake region. "Of all the peoples above enumerated, the Outaouais alone ascribe to the Great Hare the formation of the earth. According to them, this Great Hare (Michabou, Ouisaketchak) was a man of gigantic stature, born in the island of Michillimakinak (now Makinac, in Lake Huron), who made the first nets for catching fish, on the model of the web woven by the spider. (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xii; *Lett. édif.*, vol. iv, 168, 169.)" The Hurons had not this tradition of the Great Hare as creator. The Montagnais "make him the younger brother

## II. Belief of the savages regarding the creation of man

After the creation of the earth, all the other animals withdrew into the places which each kind found most suitable for obtaining therein their pasture or their prey. When the first ones died, the Great Hare caused the birth of men from their corpses, as also from those of the fishes which were found along the shores of the rivers which he had formed in creating the land. Accordingly, some of the savages derive their origin from a bear, others from a moose, and others similarly from various kinds of animals; and before they had intercourse with the Europeans they firmly believed this, persuaded that they had their being from those kinds of creatures whose origin was as above explained. Even today that notion passes among them for undoubted truth, and if there are any of them at this time who are weaned from believing this dream, it has been only by dint of laughing at them for so ridiculous a belief. You will hear them say that their villages each bear the name of the animal which has given its people their being—as that of the crane, or the bear, or of other animals. They imagine that they were created by other divinities than those which we recognize, because we have many inventions which they do not possess, as the art of writing, shooting with a gun, making gunpowder, muskets, and other things which are used by [civilized] mankind.

of the Messou or Creator, and, by a just compensation, the elder brother of the animals of his kind—that is, a hare wonderfully great and powerful; the same, very probably, who was one day put to death by a certain Tchakabesch, whose mother he had (without any doubt, through absent-mindedness) devoured. (*Relation* of 1637, chap. xi; *id.* of 1634, chap. iv.) Since I have spoken of the Outaouais, I will observe that this name properly belonged to the tribe of *Cheveux-Relevés* (Ondataouaouat); later, the French used it to designate all the other tribes of Upper Algonquins (*Relation* of 1670, chap. x).”—TAILHAN.



Those first men who formed the human race, being scattered in different parts of the land, found out that they had minds. They beheld here and there buffaloes, elks, and deer, all kinds of birds and animals, and many rivers abounding in fish. These first men, I say, whom hunger had weakened, inspired by the Great Hare with an intuitive idea, broke off a branch from a small tree, made a cord with the fibers of the nettle, scraped the bark from a piece of a bough with a sharp stone, and armed its end with another sharp stone, to serve them as an arrow; and thus they formed a bow [and arrows] with which they killed small birds. After that, they made *viretons*,<sup>12</sup> in order to attack the large beasts; they skinned these, and tried to eat the flesh. But as they found only the fat savory, they tried to make fire, in order to cook their meat; and, trying to get it, they took for that purpose hard wood, but without success; and [finally] they used softer wood, which yielded them fire.<sup>13</sup> The skins of the animals served for their covering.

<sup>12</sup> *Vireton*: "in ancient times, a cross-bow shaft, feathered spirally with thin plates of wood, horn, or iron, which gave the shaft a rotary motion in the air" (Littré). Cf. *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Arrows," for illustrations and descriptions of Indian arrows, etc. — Ed.

<sup>13</sup> "Two methods of making fire were in use among the American aborigines at the time of the discovery. The first method, by flint-and-pyrites (the progenitor of flint-and-steel) was practiced by the Eskimo and by the northern Athapascan and Algonquian tribes ranging across the continent" from Alaska to Newfoundland, "and around the entire Arctic coast, and also throughout New England; as well as by the tribes of the north Pacific coast. . . . The second method, by reciprocating motion of wood on wood and igniting the ground-off particles through heat generated by friction, was widespread in America, where it was the most valued as well as the most effectual process known to the aborigines. The apparatus, in its simplest form, consists of a slender rod or drill and a lower piece or hearth, near the border of which the drill is worked by twisting between the palms, cutting a socket. From the socket a narrow canal is cut in the edge of the hearth, the function of which is to collect the powdered wood ground off by the friction of the drill, as within this wood meal the heat rises to the ignition point. This is the simplest and the most widely diffused type of fire-generating apparatus known to uncivilized man." There are various kinds of fire drill, containing considerable improvements on this simple

As hunting is not practicable in the winter on account of the deep snows, they invented a sort of racket,<sup>14</sup> in order to walk on this with more ease; and they constructed canoes, in order to enable them to cross the rivers.

(They relate also that these men, formed as I have told, while hunting found the footprints of an enormously tall man, followed by another that was smaller. They went on into his territory, following up this trail very heedfully, and saw in the distance a large cabin; when they reached it, they were astonished at seeing there the feet and legs of a man so tall that they could not descry his head; that inspired terror in them, and constrained them to retreat.) This great colossus, having wakened, cast his eyes on a freshly-made track, and this induced him to step toward it; he immediately saw the man who had discovered him, whom fear had driven to hide himself in a thicket, where he was trembling with dread. The giant said to him, "My son, why art thou afraid? Reassure thyself; I am the Great Hare, he who has caused thee and many others to be born from the dead bodies of various animals. Now I will give thee a companion." Here are the words that he used in giving the man a wife: "Thou, man," said he, "shalt hunt, and

original type. "Fire-making formed an important feature of a number of ceremonies. . . . There are also many legends and myths grouped about the primitive method of obtaining fire at will. . . . On the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches the art of fire-making by the old methods speedily fell into disuse among most tribes and was perpetuated only for procuring the new fire demanded by religious rites. . . . Consult Dixon in *Bulletin Amer. Museum Nat. History*, vol. xvii, part 3, 1905; and Hough in *Rept. National Museum*, 1888 and 1890." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Fire-making."

<sup>14</sup> The racket (Fr. *raquette*) used in tennis and other European ball-games; here very naturally applied, on account of its similar construction, to the aboriginal snowshoe. The latter was in use everywhere by the northern tribes of America, and has been adopted by the white men of Canada and the United States in those regions where snows abound. See descriptions of snowshoes, in Lafitau's *Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 220-223; and Schoolcraft's *Ind. Tribes*, vol. iii, 68 (with illustrations). — ED.

make canoes, and do all things that a man must do; and thou, woman, shalt do the cooking for thy husband, make his shoes, dress the skins of animals, sew, and perform all the tasks that are proper for a woman." Such is the belief of these peoples in regard to the creation of man; it is based only upon the most ridiculous and extravagant notions – to which, however, they give credence as if they were incontestable truths, although shame hinders them from making these stories known.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "The Montagnais assigned quite another origin to the human race: man, they said, was born from Messou and a female muskrat (*Relations* – of 1633; of 1634, chap. iv). The Hurons did not suppose that our sublunary race had been the object of a creation properly so termed; they believed that above the sky had existed from all time a world similar to ours, peopled by men such as we. One day a woman, named Ataentsic, fell or threw herself from it, through a chasm which opened under her feet. At that period our earth was not yet in existence, and everywhere, in place of it, extended an ocean without limits. The turtle, seeing Ataentsic fall, invited all the other aquatic animals to construct an island on which to receive her, and even offered to carry upon its own back this island which they were going to form. Ataentsic was not hurt by her fall, and in the refuge which had been prepared for her gave birth to twin boys, whom she called Tawiscaron and Jouskeha. The former was afterward killed by the other, in consequence of a dispute that arose between them. (*Relations* – of 1635; of 1636, part 2, chap. i.) The Iroquois added to this, that the posterity of Jouskeha did not go beyond the third generation, a deluge having entirely engulfed them. In order to repopulate the earth, it was necessary to change beasts into men. (Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, vol. iii, 345.)" But the antiquity or the authenticity of these traditions should not be accepted without much reserve; this is also Charlevoix's opinion (*ut supra*, 199), who is considered a careful and cautious historian. This position is supported by the following considerations: The savages had had more or less intercourse with the Europeans during more than a century before the missionaries and Perrot studied their beliefs; these beliefs were handed down solely by oral tradition (*Relation* of 1646, chap. v), in the absence of writing or pictures among the savages; they always have been addicted to falsehood and untruth (Champlain, *Voyages*, ed. 1632, part 1, 125; *Relations* – of 1634, chap. vi; of 1673, in *Relations inédites*, vol. i, 119; and various citations of similar import from Spanish American historians, in regard to the savages of Spanish America); they are incapable of chronological calculations beyond a man's lifetime (*Relation* of Father Gravier, 20, 21). In the light of these facts, it is most probable that they had been influenced by European ideas, and had (perhaps unconsciously) incorporated these with their genuine traditions received from their ancestors. The *Relation* of 1637 (chap. xi) says of the savages: "They vary so greatly in their beliefs that one can have no certain knowledge of what they believe." This effect of inter-



### III. Commencement of wars among the savages

Each of these men inhabited a region that belonged to him; and there they lived with their wives, and gradually multiplied. They lived in peace, until they became very numerous; having, then, multiplied in the course of time, they separated from one another, in order to live in greater comfort. They became, in consequence of this expansion, neighbors to peoples who were unknown to them, and whose language they did not understand; but the Great Hare had given to each of them a different dialect when he drew them forth from the bodies of animals. Some of them continued to live in peace, but the others began to wage war. Those who were weaker abandoned their own lands, in order to escape from the fury of their enemies; and they retreated to more distant places, where they found tribes whom they must again resist. Some devoted themselves to the cultivation of the land and produced their food—Indian corn, beans, and squashes. Those who lived by hunting were more skilful, and considered as more warlike by the others, who greatly feared and dreaded the hunters. However, neither class could dispense with the other, on account of the necessities of life [which each produced]. It was this which caused them to live much longer in peace; for the hunter obtained his grain from the tiller of the soil, and the latter procured his meat from the hunter. But eventually the young men, through course with Europeans upon the native traditions would naturally continue and gradually develop, even to the nineteenth century. "Now this is precisely what has occurred. Today, the Outaouais and the other tribes of the West (Maloumines, Sakis, Renards, and Ouinipegs or Puans) cite, as belonging to their primitive beliefs, certain facts of which neither Perrot or the Jesuit missionaries found, even one hundred years ago, the slightest trace in the traditions of those peoples. (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. iv, 495, 537.)" — TAILHAN.

a certain arrogance that is native to all the savages, and no longer recognizing any chief, committed murders<sup>16</sup> by stealth, and incited wars against their allies, who were obliged to defend themselves.

#### IV. First wars of the Irroquois who were neighbors to the Algonkins, with whom they lived in peace; and the occasion of their war

The country of the Irroquois was formerly the district of Montreal and Three Rivers;<sup>17</sup> they had as

<sup>16</sup> "*Assassin*, for *assassinat*, recurs quite often from the pen of Perrot. This expression was still in use among the French Canadians far into the eighteenth century." Instances are cited from official documents printed in Dussieux's *Canada sous la domination française*, 124, 126. — TAILHAN.

<sup>17</sup> "Wrong; they have never been so near neighbors as they are at present."

— ANON.

"Bacqueville de la Potherie says (*Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. i, 292), like Perrot: 'The Iroquois grew impatient of restraint, and . . . returned, in the following spring, to their ancient domains, which were in the vicinity of Montreal and along the river on the way up to Lake Frontenac.' The testimony of La Potherie is not to be disdained; we know, through one of his contemporaries, that he had drawn his information from the best sources. [For this] he addressed himself, by preference, to the savage chiefs in alliance with France; to Jolliet, who discovered the Mississippi; to the Jesuit fathers; and, above all, to Nicolas Perrot, whose various memoirs he has textually inserted in his second volume. (Cf. La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. iv, 268, 269.) Here, however, has not La Potherie, following our author, confounded the *Iroquets*, anciently dwelling on the island of Montréal, with the *Iroquois*, changed into *Iroqués* by the pronunciation then in use of the diphthong *oi*, of which frequent examples are found in Perrot — as *Illinoetz* for Illinois, *Amicoués* for Amicouas or Amiquois?" — TAILHAN.

The memoirs of Perrot above referred to as published by La Potherie are translated, in large part, in these volumes, immediately following the present text of Perrot. As for the Iroquets, they were an Algonquian tribe, named for their chief, who aided Champlain in his expeditions against the Iroquois (1609 and 1615); they were then living between the present Kingston and Ottawa. Formerly they had lived (1500-1530) on Montréal Island, but were driven out by the Iroquois and most of them adopted into the ranks of their conquerors. For history of this tribe, and sketch of changes in tribal supremacy on the St. Lawrence, see *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), vol. v, 288-290; cf. other references found in index to that work. — ED.

neighbors the Algonkins,\* who lived along the river of the Outaouas, at Nepissing, on the French River, and between this last and Taronto. The Irroquois were not hunters; they cultivated the soil, and lived on the roots which it produced and the grain which they planted. The Algonkins, on the contrary, supported themselves by their hunting alone, despising agriculture as a pursuit little suited to their ambitious pride, and regarding it as infinitely beneath them—so that the Irroquois were regarded in a certain sense as their vassals. That did not hinder them from trading together; the Irroquois carried to them grain, in exchange for the dried meat and skins which the former obtained from the Algonkins. The Irroquois, as being much less warlike, could not avoid living with them on that footing; and it was necessary that there should be on their side apparent submission to the will of the Algonkins.

Once it happened, during the peace that reigned between these peoples, that the Algonkins sent word to the Irroquois of the village nearest them that the latter should go to spend the winter among them; and that during the winter they would supply their guests with fresh meat, which made better soup than the dried meat, of which the principal flavor was that of the smoke. The Irroquois accepted the offer made to them. When the season permitted, they [all] set out on a hunting trip, and wandered far into the forests, where they succeeded in killing all the beasts that they encountered within the

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\* Algonkins (or Algonquins): a name originally applied to a small tribe living on the Gatineau River, east of Ottawa, Que.; but later it was extended to various other tribes of the same stock, living on the upper Ottawa River and the shores of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, as far as Sault Ste. Marie. Some of these peoples were driven by Iroquois incursions to Mackinaw and westward, and became consolidated into the tribe now known as the Ottawa. From the name Algonkin is derived "Algonquian," the appellation of the ethnic stock and linguistic family most widely diffused in all North America.—JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



limits of the places where they could hunt in their vicinity; then they lacked provisions, and were obliged to break camp and go farther in search of game. But as the savages can accomplish only a very short march in a day—because they have to carry with them their cabins, their children, and whatever is necessary to them, when they shift their quarters for hunting—the Algonkins chose from their best hunters six young men to go to kill game for the coming of the people from both villages; and the Irroquois engaged to add to these six of their men, who should share the game which all together killed, and who should go ahead of the two tribes, with their meat. When these twelve young men reached a place where there were indications of game, some occupied themselves in making camp, while the others worked at clearing away the snow-drifts and looking for the elk-yards.<sup>18</sup> Having found these, they returned to their companions; and, confident in their skill and experience in hunting, they agreed together that each Algonkin should be accompanied by an Irroquois when the animals were skinned, and that the meat of these, with the hides, should be carried to the camp.

On the next day, the Algonkins, each with an Irroquois, went out in various directions; they found many moose, which they failed to secure because at that time they used only arrows; and they were obliged to return

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<sup>18</sup> French, *ravages*, referring to the gnawed or broken branches where the elk have fed. Both the moose and the caribou in winter, when the snows are deep, collect in small bands and form "yards." They tramp down the snow to make a hard floor, leaving it surrounded by a vertical wall of untrodden snow. They make it in a dense thicket, with abundance of shrubbery yielding the favorite food; and from the shrubs they bite the twigs and strip off the bark, even that of the large trees as far up as they can reach. When all the food in this yard is consumed, they make another, in some place where a fresh supply of food may be found. See descriptions of these yards and their formation, in *Canada Naturalist and Geologist* (Montreal, 1857), vol. i, 64, 65; and J. D. Caton's *Antelope and Deer of America* (New York, 2nd ed.; 1881?), 349. — ED.

to camp without having obtained any game. They went again to that place on the following day, but had no better success. But the Irroquois, who were careful to remember the manner in which the Algonkins made their approaches [on the game], demanded their consent to go and hunt by themselves. The Algonkins replied very haughtily that they were astounded that the Irroquois should presume to expect that they could kill beasts, since the Algonkins themselves had not been able to do so. But the Irroquois, without consulting them further on this point, set out on the morrow to do their own hunting, without the Algonkins; and finally arrived at their camp, laden with meat. The others, who had accomplished nothing, when they saw that those whom they had despised now had the advantage, resolved to take their lives, and did so; for one day, when the Irroquois were asleep, the Algonkins murdered them, and covered up their bodies with snow. As for the meat, they dried it, that it might be less heavy to carry, and went to meet their people. When they were asked what had become of their companions, they replied that the latter were all lost in the icy waters of a river which they had passed; and, in order to give more color to this falsehood, they broke a hole in a large ice-field in order to show inquirers the place where these men had been drowned. The Algonkins made a liberal division of the meat, and gave the greater part of it to the Irroquois. They encamped all together in that locality, and spent the rest of the winter there in hunting, without any tidings of the murder which had been committed there.

When the snows began to melt toward spring, the bodies of those dead men caused an insupportable stench in the camp, which led to the discovery of the murders. The Irroquois made complaint of the crime to the chief



of the Algonkins, who rendered them no justice therefor; but with a threatening countenance he told them that he was very near driving them out of their own country, and even entirely exterminating them, and that it was only through pity and compassion that he spared their lives. The Irroquois decided to retire quietly, without making any answer to this speech of the Algonkin chief; but they immediately sent information to the [other] Irroquois allied to them of the threats which had just been made against them, and of the murder that had been committed. They then resolved to take vengeance, and not long afterward they broke the heads of some Algonkins whom they met in a lonely place. But, not being able to avert the consequences which this deed drew upon them from the Algonkins, those Irroquois departed [from the Algonkins], and fled for refuge toward Lake Erien [i. e., Erie], where the Chaoüanons<sup>19</sup> dwelt; these made war on the Irroquois, and compelled them to go to settle along Lake Ontario, which is now called Lake Frontenac. After having maintained during several years a war against the Chaoüanons and their allies, the Irroquois took refuge in Carolina,<sup>20</sup> where they are at this time. All these hostilities were very useful in accustoming the Irroquois to war, and rendering them able to fight with the Algonkins, who before that

<sup>19</sup> *Chaoüanons*: the French form of the English appellation Shawnees. When first known by the latter people, this tribe were living in Kentucky; later, they made frequent migrations — across the mountains into Virginia and the Carolinas; then (about 1683) into Ohio; and, some fifteen years later, to Pennsylvania. By the middle of the eighteenth century, most of them were in Ohio; and about 1832 they were removed by the Federal government to a reservation in Kansas. The Shawnee dialect seems to have reached a high development, advanced beyond other Algonquian tongues. — ED.

<sup>20</sup> "Since they [the Iroquois] have approached Lake Ontario, they have not returned to the South." — ANON.

"This criticism is entirely justified; it was, in fact, the Chaouanons who, conquered by the Iroquois, took refuge in Carolina, as Perrot himself affirms a little farther on." — TAILHAN.

time carried terror among them. They have completed the destruction of the Algonkins, and many other tribes have proved the valor of these redoubtable enemies, who have compelled those peoples to abandon their own lands.<sup>21</sup>

## V. Religion, or rather superstition, of the savage tribes

‘It cannot be said that the savages profess any doctrine; and it is certain that they do not, so to speak, follow any religion.’<sup>22</sup> They only observe some Jewish

<sup>21</sup> “Charlevoix and La Potherie reproduce, in abridged form, the narrative of Perrot. The former remarks, with good reason, that of all the primitive history of the Iroquois and Algonquins this event is the only one the account of which has come down to us clothed with some probability — let us add, and the only one of which we have knowledge. Charlevoix does not venture to determine its time, but he supposes it to be not very remote. A passage from the *Relation* of 1660 (chap. ii) leads me to believe that this strife broke out in the second half of the sixteenth century, and that it occurred chiefly between the Agniers and the Algonquins. Every one knows that the Iroquois confederation was composed of the following five tribes: the Agniers (Mohawks, of the English), the Onneyouts (Oneidas), the Onontagués (Onondagas), the Goyogouins (Cayugas), and the Tsonnontouans (Senecas). Cf. Charlevoix’s *Histoire*, vol. iii, 199; La Potherie’s *Histoire*, vol. i, 289; and Ferland’s *Cours d’histoire du Canada*, vol. i, 94.” — TAILHAN.

<sup>22</sup> “The earliest and most trustworthy writers of New France are, in regard to the absence of all that is properly called religion among the diverse peoples of this region, entirely in accord with our author. ‘There is no law among them, and they do not know what it is to adore God and to pray to him, living like the brute beasts.’ (Champlain, *Voyages*, 126.)” (Similar opinions may be found in Biard’s *Relation*, chap. viii; *Relation* of 1626; *id.* of 1648, chap. xvi; *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 330, and vii, 6.) “Among the savages who had any religion, it was only a coarse fetichism, the practices of which were most commonly reduced to dances, fastings, and feasts; and these were in almost every case regulated by the dream, interpreted by the sorcerers of the tribe.” More detailed accounts of the superstitions of the savages are given in the relations of the missionaries, as noted in the following references: The religious ideas of the natives of Acadia are described in Biard’s *Relation*; of the lower Algonquins [i.e., those on the St. Lawrence River], in the *Relation* of 1634 (chap. iv); of the Outaouais, in the *Relation* of 1667 (chap. v), and in a letter of Father Rasles (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 173); of the Hurons and Iroquois in the *Relations* of 1636 (chap. iii), 1648 (chaps. xii-xvi), and 1670 (chap. ix); of the Kilistinons and

customs,<sup>23</sup> for they have certain feasts at which they make no use of a knife for cutting their cooked meat, which they devour with their teeth. The women have also a custom, when they bring their children into the world, of spending a month without entering the husband's cabin; and during all that time they cannot even eat there with the men, or eat food which has been prepared by men's hands. It is for this reason that the women cook their own food separately.<sup>24</sup>

The savages – I mean those who are not converted [to Christianity] – recognize as principal divinities only the Great Hare, the sun, and the devils. They oftenest invoke the Great Hare, because they revere and adore him as the creator of the world; they reverence the sun as the author of light; but if they place the devils among their divinities, and invoke them, it is because they are afraid of them, and in the invocations which they make

} Sauteurs, in the *Relations* of 1667 (chap. xiii), and 1670 (chap. x); of the Maloumines, or Wild Oats tribe, in the *Relation* of 1674 (in *Relations inédites*, vol. i, 224); of the peoples who dwelt at the head of Green Bay, or Bay of the Puants, in the *Relation* of 1672 (chap. ii); of the Illinois, in the *Relation* of 1671 (chap. iv), and a letter of Father Marest (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 330); and, finally, of the Miamis, in a letter of Father Beschefer (then unpublished, dated Oct. 21, 1683, from which a short extract is given). "If any reader is surprised at the silence maintained by Perrot in regard to the belief of the savages in a supreme God or Great Spirit, I would remind him that the Outaouais, according to the testimony of Father Allouez (who had long been associated with them), 'did not recognize any sovereign ruler of heaven and earth' (*Relation* of 1667, chap. v). Now it is the Outaouais to whom Perrot specially devotes himself in this part of his memoir." These citations are fortified by others from missionaries among the tribes in Spanish America. Other accounts of the religion of the Canadian savages may be found in Charlevoix's *Histoire*, vol. iii, 343 ff., and in Ferland's *Cours d'histoire*, vol. i, 97 ff. — TAILHAN.

The letter by Beschefer above mentioned is published in the *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxii; Tailhan's citation is on pages 204-207, the paragraph relating to the superstitions of the Miamis. — ED.

<sup>23</sup> "On the so-called judaical customs, see Charlevoix's *Histoire*, vol. iii, 349." — TAILHAN.

<sup>24</sup> For superstitious beliefs of the aborigines regarding menstruation, barrenness, and childbirth, see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. iii, 105, vol. ix, 111, 119, 123, 308, 309, vol. xiii, 261, vol. xv, 181, 249, vol. xvii, 213, vol. xxix, 109. — ED.



to the devils they entreat them for [the means of] ~~hom~~ Those among the savages whom the French call "jugglers" talk with the demon, whom they consult for [success in] war and hunting.

They have also many other divinities, to whom they pray, and whom they recognize as such, in the air, on the land, and within the earth. Those of the air are the thunder, the lightning, and in general whatever they see in the air that they cannot understand—as the moon, eclipses, and extraordinary whirlwinds. Those which are upon the land comprise all creatures that are malign and noxious—especially serpents, panthers, and other animals, and birds like griffins; they also include in this class such creatures as have, according to their kind, unusual beauty or deformity. Lastly, those that are within the earth, [especially] the bears, who pass the winter without eating, and are nourished only by the substance which they obtain from their own navels, by sucking;<sup>25</sup> the savages pay the same regard to all the animals that dwell in caves, or in holes in the ground, and invoke these whenever they have, while asleep, dreamed of any of these creatures. /

For invocations of this sort, they make a feast with victuals or with tobacco, to which the old men are invited; and in the presence of these they declare the dream which they had when they promised this feast to him of whom they had dreamed. Then one of the old men makes a speech, and, naming the creature to whom the feast is dedicated, addresses to it the following words: "Have pity," he says, "on him who offers to thee" (and here he names each article of food); "have pity on his

<sup>25</sup> "It is because they are so fat, that they do not need to eat; the woodchucks and the whistling marmots do not eat, any more than the bear." — ANON.

The above-mentioned animals are, respectively, *Arctomys monax* and *A. pruinosus*. — ED.

cusnily, and grant him what he needs." All those who are present respond with one voice, "O! O!" many times, until the prayer is ended; and this word "O!" means among them the same as "Be it so!" [Eng. "Amen!"] among us. There are tribes who, in this sort of solemnities, oblige the guests to eat everything; other tribes do not thus compel you, but you eat what you wish to, and carry the rest to your home.

Other feasts are made among these savages in which a sort of adoration is practiced, by not only consecrating to the pretended divinity the viands of the feast, but laying at his feet the contents of a leather pouch which they call their "warrior's pouch," or, in their language, their *Pindikossan*; <sup>20</sup> in this will be found the skins of owls, of

<sup>20</sup> See description of a medicine-pouch in Le Clercq's *Relation de Gaspésie*, 346-349 (translated in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. xxii, 317, 318); cf. the latter work, vol. lxxviii, 151, 153; there are also various references to the personal manitou or fetich — vol. xii, 15, vol. xxxi, 191, vol. lxi, 149 (its form determined by dreams), vol. lxvi, 233, vol. lxxii, 159, 161, vol. lxxviii, 147 (manitou of warriors), etc. In the State Historical Museum of Wisconsin is an interesting specimen of the medicine-pouches used by shamans; it is perhaps a half-century old, and formerly belonged to an old shaman of the Winnebago tribe in Wisconsin. It is made of buffalo-skin, with the hair outside, and is tied with cords of hide; the size is about eighteen by twelve inches. It contains an otter-skin, tanned, and painted red and yellow, on which the head, tail, and ends of paws are carefully preserved; a pair of small gourd rattles; a white weasel-skin, with the hair on; a little bundle of tiny bows and arrows; a bone musical instrument resembling a flageolet, with incised ornaments on the surface, and attached to a stick that is trimmed with tufts of horsehair, feathers, etc.; a section of some animal's bone, also incised on the surface, and adorned with small brass hawk's-bells, strips of rabbit's skin, etc.; a medicine-tube or cupper, made of the end of a horn, used to suck out evil spirits, etc.; and another small horn, with lines cut around it at regular intervals, resembling the "graduate" of a modern pharmacist. All these articles were used by the shaman in his medical practice, and all were regarded and styled "sacred." One of the skins was probably his personal manitou.

In Perrot's text occurs the word *foignes*, which appears to be a copyist's error, as it is not contained in the dictionaries; the original word was probably *cygnes*, and it has accordingly been translated "swans." Several species of swan (*Cygnus*) were found at that time about the great lakes and in the Mississippi Valley.

The *Relation* of 1661-1662 mentions (page 11) among the birds of southern

snakes, of white swans, of perroquets and magpies, from other animals that are very rare. They also carry therein roots or powders which serve them as medicines. Before the feast, they always fast, neither eating nor drinking until they have had a dream; and during their fast they blacken their faces, shoulders, and breasts with coals; however, they smoke tobacco. The assertion is made (but it seems incredible) that there are some of them who have fasted as long as twelve consecutive days, and others for less.<sup>27</sup> If the dream which they have had

United States "little paroquets, which are so numerous that we have seen some of our Iroquois return from those countries with scarfs and belts which they had made from these birds by a process of interweaving." This reminds us of the feather ornaments and mantles of the Aztecs and Hawaiians. O. T. Mason says (*Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Feather-work"): "The feathers of birds entered largely into the industries, decorations, war, and worship of the Indians. . . . The prominent species in every area were used. . . . The most striking uses of feathers were in connection with social customs and in symbolism. . . . The downy feather was to the mind of the Indian a kind of bridge between the spirit world and ours. Creation and other myths spring out of feathers. Feather technic in its highest development belongs to South America, Central America, and Polynesia; but there is continuity in the processes from the northern part of America southward."—Ed.

<sup>27</sup> "What Perrot says here of the influence of dreams on the decisions to be made by the savages when there was question of war, hunting, or sickness, cannot give the reader an adequate idea of the force and extent of this superstition. Everything was permitted, when there was a question of procuring the accomplishment of dreams. For example: an Iroquois had dreamed that he was captured by enemies, and bound to a stake in order to be burned alive; on awaking, he hastened to assemble his best friends, and caused himself to be cruelly tormented—in order that, the dream being partially verified in time of peace, he need no longer dread its full realization in time of war. On dreams, their origin according to the savages, and the superstitions to which they gave rise, the reader can consult Champlain (*Voyages*, book 3, chap. v); and the *Relations*—of 1648 (chap. xii), of 1633, of 1636 (chap. ii and iii), of 1642 (chap. x), of 1662 (chap. iv), of 1670 (chap. vii), of 1656 (chap. ix), of 1671 (chap. iii), of 1672 (chap. ii). As for the fastings of the savages, the special circumstances in which they imposed these on themselves, and the ceremonies with which they were accompanied, cf. *Relations*—of 1634 (chap. iii), of 1667 (chap. v and xi), of 1672 (chap. ii), of 1673 (in *Rel. inéd.*, vol. i, chap. i)."

—TAILHAN.

"Most revelations of what was regarded by the Indians as coming from the supernatural powers were believed to be received in dreams and visions. Through them were bestowed on man magical abilities and the capacity to



cus about a divinity which is either upon or within the ground, they continue to blacken themselves with coals, as has been stated; but if it is about the Great Hare, or the spirits of the air, they wash themselves, and then smear the skin with black dirt, and in the evening begin the solemnity of the feast.

The person who offers it invites two companions to attend this entertainment; and they must sing with him, in order to incline toward him the divinity of whom he has dreamed, and who is the occasion of this ceremony. Formerly, when they had no guns, they uttered as many loud cries as there were large kettles on the fire for cooking the food. Afterward, he who gives the feast begins to sing, in concert with his two assistants, who are painted<sup>28</sup> with vermilion or with a red dye. This

foresee future events, to control disease, and to become able to fill the office of priest or of leader. It was the common belief of the Indians that these dreams or visions must be sought through the observance of some rite involving more or less personal privation. . . . In general the initiation of a man's personal relations to the unseen through dreams and visions took place during the fast which occurred at puberty, and the thing seen at that time became the medium of supernatural help and knowledge, and in some tribes determined his affiliations. It was his sacred object. . . . Any dream of ordinary sleep in which this object appeared had meaning for him and its suggestions were heeded. . . . The dreams of a man filling an important position, as the leader of a war party, were often regarded as significant, especially if he had carried with him some one of the sacred tribal objects as a medium of supernatural communication. This object was supposed to speak to him in dreams and give him directions which would insure safety and success. . . . The general belief concerning dreams and visions seems to have been that the mental images seen with closed eyes were not fancies but actual glimpses of the unseen world where dwelt the generic types of all things, and where all events that were to take place in the visible world were determined and prefigured."

— ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>28</sup> "Mattachez, painted or variegated with one or more colors; we find also *matachez* and *matachiez*. 'My fourteenth [speech, with accompanying present] was for painting [*matachier*] his face; for it is here the custom never to go to battle without having the face painted, some with black, some with red, some with various other colors—each one possessing therein a special livery, as it were; and to these they adhere even unto death' (*Relation* of 1634). 'A skin *matachée* is a skin painted by the savages in different colors, and on which they



song is offered solely in honor of the divinity of whom the man has dreamed; for each creature, animate or inanimate, has its own special song. They continue during the evening to sing all the songs that belong to their other pretended divinities, until all the guests are assembled. When every one has arrived, the host alone recommences the song which is peculiar to the divinity of his dream.

This feast is one of dog's flesh, which [among them] is ranked as the principal and most esteemed of all viands;<sup>29</sup> and they serve with it several meats, as the flesh of the bear, the elk, or any other large game. If they have none of these, they supply its place with Indian corn, which they season with grease and then pour it out on the plate of each guest. You will note that, in order to render this repast a solemn one, there must be a dog, whose head is presented to the most prominent war-chief, and the other parts are given to the warriors. When the food is cooked, the kettles are taken off the fire, and one of the gentlemen [*escuyers*, ironically] goes calling aloud through the village, to make it known that the feast is ready, and that every one may come to it. The men are allowed to attend it, with their weapons, and the old men, each with his own plate. No precedence is observed in their seats, but every one takes his place without any order; strangers are welcome at the feast, as well as the people of the village; and they even serve the strangers first, and with whatever is best of the food.

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depict calumets, birds, or animals' (Letter of Father Poisson, in *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 384). 'His face is all *mataché* with black' (La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 12, and vol. iii, 26, 45)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>29</sup> "If the [flesh of the] dog was the most esteemed of all meats among the upper Algonquins and the Hurons, it was, in turn, regarded by the Montagnais as the most wretched of all" — a statement which is made in some old *Relation*, but for which the reference has been mislaid. — TAILHAN.

When every one has taken his place, the director of this ceremony (who always remains standing),<sup>30</sup> assisted by his two companions—and having his wife and children seated beside him, decked with the most precious ornaments that he possesses; and his two companions armed, like himself, with a javelin or else a quiver of arrows—forthwith speaks in a loud tone, to make all the guests hear him, saying that he sacrifices these viands to such and such a spirit (whom he names), and that it is to this spirit that he consecrates them. He uses such expressions as this: “I adore thee,” he says, “and invoke thee,”<sup>31</sup> in order that thou mayest favor me in the enterprise which I am undertaking, and that thou mayest take pity on me and all my family. I invoke all the spirits, both evil and good, all those of the air, of the land, and within the ground, so that they may keep me and my friends in safety, and that we may be able to return to our own country after a fortunate journey.” Then all those present respond, with one voice, “O! O!” Feasts of this sort are usually made only on the occasion of a war, or of other enterprises in which they engage when on expeditions against their enemies. If any Frenchman is present among them, they do not say, “I invoke the evil spirits;” but they pretend to address only the good spirits. But the words that they use in invocations of this sort are so peculiar that there is no one but themselves who can understand them.<sup>32</sup> They usually have recourse to

<sup>30</sup> “Incorrect; he is seated.” — ANON.

“Among the Iroquois the orator delivered while standing, or walking about, the discourse which preceded certain solemn repasts (Letter of Father Millet, in *Relation* of 1674). . . . It was, perhaps, in the tribal councils that the orator spoke while seated, doubtless through respect for his hearers (Biard’s *Relation*, chap. viii; cf. *Relation* of 1646, chap. v).” — TAILHAN.

<sup>31</sup> “He says *Maunoré*, or ‘I salute thee,’ and ‘I invoke thee.’” — ANON.

“There was a somewhat similar practice among the Hurons; see the *Relation* of 1636, chap. iii.” — TAILHAN.

<sup>32</sup> “In incantations and in the formal speeches of priests and shamans a

all the spirits whom they believe to be most powerful, and those who may be more propitious than the others to their side; and they even imagine that they cannot avert the evils which befall them—from enemies, or sickness, or any other misfortune—if they have omitted such invocations.

When the master of the feast has ended his prayers—in the attitude above-mentioned, and [equipped] with his bow and quiver of arrows, his javelin or his dagger—he assumes the most furious aspect that he possibly can, chants his war-song, and, with every syllable that he utters, makes the most frightful contortions with his head and body that you ever saw. All this, however, proceeds rhythmically; for the voice and the body are in accord at every moment with the demonstrations of his animosity, which make it evident that his courage is continually increasing, while he walks incessantly, in accord with the tones and the cadence of his song, from end to end of the place where the feast is given. Thus he goes and comes many times, meanwhile continuing his gesticulations, and when he passes in front of the guests—who are seated flat on the ground, at both sides, and upon all spots where they can see him—they respond to his song, keeping time with it, all shouting in guttural voices, *Ouiy! Ouiy!* But what is more agreeable in the measures of their song is, that at certain places therein the singer utters two or three syllables much faster than the others; all those present do the same by responding, *Ouiy! Ouiy!* more rapidly, in the same time as the singing requires. This is so regularly observed that among five hundred people together not one will be found who fails to do thus.

All the women and children, and in general all the peculiar vocabulary is sometimes used, containing many archaic and symbolic terms." — FRANZ BOAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Languages."



persons in the village who are not invited to the feast, repair to it in order to be spectators of the solemnity; for this they lose their own food and drink, and often abandon their cabins, which they thus render liable to be plundered by other savages, who are naturally inclined to theft.

When the master of the feast has finished his parade and song, he resumes his place, and remains in the same position which he had before. One of his companions now relieves him; he plays the same part and character which he has seen the former enact, and after he has ended it he goes to rejoin the master of the feast. The other companion also sings in his turn, and after him all the guests, one after another, who endeavor to rival one another in assuming the most furious aspect. Some while singing fill their dishes with red-hot embers and burning coals, which they fling upon the spectators, who cry out with one voice (very loudly, but slowly), *Ouiy!* Others seize firebrands, which they hurl into the air; and there are some of them who pretend to break the heads of those present. These latter are obliged to make amends for this insult to the man whom they have feigned to strike, by making him a present of vermilion, or a knife, or some other article of like value. Only the warriors who have killed men, or have captured prisoners, are permitted to act in that fashion, those feigned attacks signifying that thus they have slain their enemies. But if it should occur that one of these actors did not give anything to the man whom he thus approached in the company, the latter would tell him before all the spectators that he had lied therein, and that he had never been able to kill any one, which would cover him with confusion.

While all these songs are going on, the warriors dis-

play haughtiness, courage, and a readiness again to overcome all the perils which they have previously encountered in the various places where they have been engaged in war. At certain moments they stop singing, and those who are present shout all together, *Ouiy!* Then they continue singing, one after another in the assembly taking each his turn; sometimes three or four appear together, taking their places at each end and in the middle of the place where the feast is held. Marching from one end to the other, they meet [and pass] without losing the least cadence of their song, or changing the contortions in their faces and bodies, even though they may be singing different songs, and with different gesticulations. Those who look on follow the singing, and respond in their turn at the moment when the dancers pass before them. For it must be known that each man has his own peculiar song, and that he cannot sing that belonging to his comrade without thus offering him an insult, which would draw a blow from a club on him who had sung the war-song of another man — which is the worst insult that can be offered to him in a gathering where he is present.<sup>33</sup> This song cannot be sung even after his death, on the day of the funeral, save by those in his family who take his name.<sup>34</sup> It is, however, per-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Relation of 1636* (chap. vii), and La Potherie's *Histoire* (vol. ii, 116, 117). "On the songs of the savages, see also the *Relations* — of 1634, of 1642 (chap. x), of 1656 (chap. vii)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>34</sup> "In this country they do not, as in Europe, take family names; the children do not bear the name of the father, and not one of them has a name that is common to all the family; each person has his own name — in such manner, however, that no name is ever lost if that can be avoided. Thus, when any one of the family dies all the relatives assemble, and together decide which among them shall bear the name of the deceased, giving his name to some other person, a relative. He who takes a new name likewise assumes the responsibilities that are annexed to it, and thus he is a chief if the dead man were one. This accomplished, they restrain their tears and cease to weep for the dead; and in this manner they place him among the number of the living — saying that he is brought back to life, and has taken life in the person of him who has received



missible to sing it before its owner on other than festal occasions, provided that the singer does not remain seated, and that it be known that in singing this song he was ignorant that it belonged to the other.

When every one in the assembly has sung, those who have been assigned to serve the food at once take the dishes of those who are strangers, fill them, and place them before these guests; then they serve their chiefs; and to both these classes they give the best of the food. The other guests are served without order or distinction; they all are seated flat on the ground, which serves them for a table; and on it they set, between their legs, the dishes which are carried to them. Every person there must, above all, be furnished with his own dish; otherwise he will not have his share [of the food]. In this they hardly ever fail, the savage being naturally too fond of eating to be forgetful on any occasion when it is a question of filling his stomach well.<sup>35</sup>

When it has been decided to make a general expedition, or to form small war-parties, the commander of the dead man's name and rendered him immortal.' (*Relation of 1642*, chap. x). Perrot mentions, farther on, this curious custom and the ceremonies with which this resurrection from the dead are accompanied." — TAILHAN.

In the *Jesuit Relations* are many references to adoption for the purpose of preserving the dead person's name; see index to that work, vol. lxii, 351, under heading "Resuscitation." — ED.

<sup>35</sup> "Incorrect; for they are not gluttons, but they eat a great deal when they need it, and they fast when they must." — ANON.

"Perrot has never denied that the savages were intrepid fasters when they had nothing to put into their mouths, or when superstition, with them more powerful than gluttony, imposed upon them the obligation of a temporary abstinence; but what he affirms, and what is true, is, that on every other occasion they ate with an appetite that the heroes of Homer might envy, and placed at the service of their hosts a voracity which did not wear out an entire day spent in satisfying it. On every page of the old relations is found the equivalent of what Perrot sets forth in this passage of his memoir." Citation is made from "an anonymous and unpublished history of New France, in Latin, written about 1637," which confirms (chap. xii) Perrot's statements. See also *Relation of 1634*, chap. vi; *id.* of 1635, chap. iv; and La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 184. — TAILHAN.

such gives a feast similar to that which has just been described. Those who desire attend it, in order to enroll their names with him; for he would not be accompanied by any persons unless he had previously entertained them. The expedition which must be made is carried out according to his orders; and while it lasts this commander has his face, shoulders, and breast blackened with clay or coals. He is careful also to sing his death-song every morning, when they break camp, and does not fail to do this until he gets beyond danger or returns to his own village—where, if no misfortune has befallen him, he again gives a feast to thank the spirit who has been favorable to him on his journey; and to this feast are invited the chief men of the village, and those who have accompanied him in his enterprise.<sup>36</sup>

## VI. Continuation of the superstitions of the savages

They honor as the god of the waters the Great Panther, whom the Algonkins and others who speak the same language call Michipissy.<sup>37</sup> They tell you that

<sup>36</sup> "There were among the savages two kinds of feasts: ordinary, at which each guest could eat as much as he pleased of the portion that was placed before him, and the rest he could eat or carry away, as he chose; and 'eat-all' feasts, which must be entirely consumed on the spot, and before the company separated. In this latter kind of repast, each of the guests must eat his portion without leaving anything; but if his strength was unequal to his courage he was obliged to find among the other guests one whose stomach was complaisant enough to swallow what his own refused. On the feasts of the savages, and the etiquette that was observed therein, cf. *Relations*—of 1634 (chap. vii and xiii), of 1637 (chap. ii), of 1642 (chap. x), of 1648 (chap. xiv); also, regarding the feasts of the Illinois, Father Rasles (*Lett édif.*, vol. vi, 175 ff.)." Father Gravier (in his relation of the Illinois [1694]) "tells us of a singular custom of that people: the giver of the feast had the right to say whatever he wished to his guests, without their being able to show resentment at it."—TAILHAN.

The relation by Gravier here cited was published in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxiv; the reference is to page 165.—ED.

<sup>37</sup> "The Michipissy or Great Panther, elsewhere called Michibissy or Missi-

this Michipissay always dwells in a very deep cave, and that he has a large tail; and when he goes to drink the waving of his tail stirs up high winds, but when he switches it sharply it rouses great tempests. In the journeys which they have to make, whether small or great, they utter their invocations in this manner: "Thou who art the master of the winds, favor our voyage, and give us pleasant weather." This is said while smoking a pipe of tobacco, the smoke from which they fling into the air. But before they undertake voyages that are rather long they are careful to kill some dogs with their clubs, and to hang the bodies from a tree or a pole; sometimes also they suspend thus dressed skins of elk, or moose, or deer, which they consecrate to the sun or the lake, in order to obtain fair weather.<sup>38</sup> If in the winter they have

bizi, was invoked by the Outaouais or people of the upper country, in order to obtain a good catch of sturgeons (*Relation* of 1667, chap. v; Letter of Father Rasles, in *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 173). It was also the object of veneration by the savage tribes near the Bay of Puans (*Relation* of 1673, chap. iv, in *Rel. inéd.*, vol. i.) — TAILHAN.

<sup>38</sup> "This superstition was in force among the Illinois, as is proved by the following passage from the relation by Father Gravier already cited." [The passage here referred to may be found in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxiv, 187. — Ed.] "The Kilistinons, who lived upon the shores of Lake Alimibegong [i.e., Nipigon — Ed.], between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, were also 'idolaters of the sun, to whom they ordinarily presented sacrifices, fastening a dog to the top of a pole, which they left hanging thus until it became rotten' (*Relation* of 1667, chap. xiii). It was the same with the Amikoués (*Relation* of 1673-1679, chap. i). Among the Maloumines, at the top of the pole was placed the image of the sun, and lower down what was offered to it in sacrifice (*Relation* of 1674, chap. v, in *Rel. inéd.*, vol. i). Finally, we know through Father Allouez (*Relation* of 1667, chap. v) that among all the peoples known under the name of Outaouais the dog was among the victims most frequently offered to the manitous." — TAILHAN. [Cf. *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxvii, 159. — Ed.]

The signification and value of sacrifice are variously conceived by different peoples, and these ideas and their progress are thus concisely summed up by Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*: "The ruder conception, that the deity takes and values the offering for itself, gives place on the one hand to the idea of mere homage expressed by a gift, and on the other to the negative view that the virtue lies in the worshiper depriving himself of something prized. These ideas may be broadly distinguished as the gift-theory, the homage-theory, and the abnegation



to make some special journey over the ice, there is a certain spirit whom they invoke on that account, whom the

theory." It will be seen that "the gift-theory was the dominant one among Indian tribes, yet the ordeals of such a ceremony as the Sun-dance show plainly that the abnegation-theory occupied a prominent position in the thought of some tribes; nor can we deny that the homage-theory was also entertained, however difficult it may be to isolate it thoroughly from the others. In all this the differences in point of view between North American Indians and the lower classes of so-called civilized races on the subject of sacrifice are not very great. A far greater distinction is that between the view that sacrifice produces a change in the deity beneficial to the worshiper, and the view that sacrifice produces a beneficial change in the worshiper himself."

Sacrifices were most commonly offered by individuals—the person desiring to approach the deity, the father of a family, the oldest man in the village, or the leader of a war or hunting party. "Society and tribal rites and ceremonies were oftener than not themselves considered as sacrifices, and thus furnish us with examples of sacrifices participated in by large bodies of people. Not as frequently as in the Old World, and yet occasionally (witness for instance the White Dog ceremony of the Iroquois and the human sacrifice of the Skidi Pawnee), there is a special national sacrifice consummated by chosen individuals to whom the title of 'priest' may very properly be applied." All super-human beings, and all material beings, objects, and forces which were supposed to possess the least supernatural power, were the recipients of sacrifices. "In the case of the natural objects mentioned it is to be understood that it was not the object in any case which was thus approached, but the animating soul of each." Offerings were also made to personal manitos, guardian spirits, etc. "In several cases, even by Christianized Indians, sacrifices were offered to missionaries, to the crosses which they carried or set up, and to the mission churches." Tobacco was most widely used for a sacrifice; another important article for this purpose was corn; next came articles of food, adornment, clothing, and implements for hunting and fishing. Animals were sacrificed—dogs, buffalo, bears, deer, elk, etc.—a white one being usually preferred; also various parts of their bodies. In the list must be placed fish, birds (especially the eagle) and their feathers, beans and other valued kinds of vegetal nature; also manufactured articles, as blankets, arrows, powder and lead, knives, guns, utensils, etc.; and red paint was used in sacrifices, in various ways. In some cases the funeral ceremonies of a chief or other person of rank included the killing of servants or others, in order that their spirits might serve the dead in the land of the departed. Mutilations were practiced (as in the Sun-dance) as sacrifices to the deity. Songs, dances, feasts, and ceremonies generally, are also regarded as a sort of sacrifice, since their object is to please the deity. Offerings were usually laid on or near a sacred object; on various occasions they were thrown into the water or into fire, or on the ground, and sometimes suspended from trees or poles. "In the case of food, the idea was usually present that supernatural beings partook only of the spirit of the food and man could very properly devour its substance. . . . At most sacrificial feasts the food was devoured by all alike. Only occasionally do we find that function appropriated

Algonkins call Mateomek, to whom they give and offer tobacco-smoke in like manner, entreating him to be favorable and propitious to them in their journey. But that ceremony is practiced with much indifference, their little fervor being very far from that which is shown in their solemn feasts. /

The Nepissings (otherwise called Nepissiniens), Amikoûas, and all their allies assert that the Amikoûas (which term means "descendants of the beaver") had their origin from the corpse of the Great Beaver, whence issued the first man of that tribe; and that this beaver left Lake Huron, and entered the stream which is called French River. They say that as the water grew too low for him, he made some dams, which are now rapids and portages. When he reached the river which has its rise in [Lake] Nepissing, he crossed it, and followed [the course of] many other small streams which he passed. He then made a small dike of earth; but, seeing that the

by shamans, priests, or some special class of persons, as was so frequently the case in the Old World." "Tobacco was sometimes offered loose, but oftener in a pipe, the stem of the pipe being presented to the deity, or whiffs of smoke directed toward him, a common formula being to offer it to the four cardinal points, zenith, and nadir successively. . . . Not infrequently the sacrifice bore a symbolic resemblance to the object desired by the person sacrificing."

"The White Dog feast of the Iroquois was celebrated five days after the first appearance of the new moon following the winter solstice. The harvest feast of the Southern tribes and the corn-planting sacrifice of the Quapaw were in the same way dependent upon the succession of the seasons." Other times for sacrifices were determined by periods of want, war, or disease, or by other circumstances of the people, or by custom at certain seasons. As for the objects for which sacrifices were offered, "the sum and substance of all was, as usual, to escape evils and secure benefits;" they were chiefly for food and health, then came fair weather, rain, success in war, preservation of the family, etc.

The consideration of sacrifice also touches mortuary customs, "the shades of the dead being invoked and presented with food, clothing, etc., much as in the case of higher powers. There are many cases in which supernatural beings are said to have been men originally, but a real worship of ancestors as such appears to be altogether absent, in spite of the almost divine honors which were paid dead chiefs among the Natchez." Other related subjects are incense, taboos, confession, consecration, and atonement; also charms and magic formulæ. — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



flood of the waters penetrated it at the sides, he was obliged to build dams at intervals, in order that he might have sufficient water for his passage. Then he came to the river which flows from Outenulkamé, where he again applied himself to building dams in the places where he did not find enough water—where there are at the present time shoals and rapids, around which one is obliged to make portages. Having thus spent several years in his travels, he chose to fill the country with the children whom he left there, and who had multiplied wherever he had passed, laboriously engaged in the little streams which he had discovered along his route; and at last he arrived below the Calumets. There he made some dams for the last time, and, retracing his steps, he saw that he had formed a fine lake; and there he died. They believe that he is buried to the north of this lake toward the place where the mountain appears to view as in the shape of a beaver, and that his tomb is there; this is the reason why they call the place where he lies “the slain beaver.” When those peoples pass by that place, they invoke him and blow [tobacco] smoke into the air in order to honor his memory, and to entreat him to be favorable to them in the journey that they have to make.<sup>39</sup> If, when any stranger or poor widow is in need near these Amikoüas or any one of their clan, they see a branch that has been gnawed at night by some beaver, the first person who finds it at the entrance of his tent picks it up and carries it to the head of the clan, who immediately causes a supply of food to be collected for

<sup>39</sup> “This tradition of the Amikouas—or, as Perrot calls them elsewhere, the Amikoués—is related, following our author, by Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, p. 283). We likewise read something similar to this in the *Relation* of 1670 (chap. xii).”—TAILHAN.

Amikwa (or Beaver People): a small Algonquian tribe encountered by the French on the north shore of Lake Huron, and later driven to Lakes Superior and Michigan by the attacks of the Iroquois; but in 1740 a remnant of them had taken refuge in Manitoulin Island.—ED.

this poor person, who has a memorial of their ancestors; and those in the villages willingly club together to make a present to him who has done them the honor of recalling to them their origin. They do not practice this with the Frenchmen, since these deride them and their superstition.

## VII. Marriage among the savages

There are some savage peoples among whom persons marry in order to live together until death; and there are others among whom married persons separate whenever it pleases them to do so. Those who observe this latter maxim are the Irroquois, the Loups, and some others. But the Outaoüas marry their wives in order to remain with them throughout life, unless some very forcible reason gives the husband occasion to put away his wife. For without such a reason the man would expose himself to be plundered and to a thousand humiliations, since she whom he had wrongfully quitted, in order to take another wife, would go at the head of her relatives and take from him whatever he had on his person and in his cabin; she would tear out his hair and disfigure his face. In a word, there is no indignity or insult which she would not heap upon him, and which she may not lawfully inflict on him, without his being able to oppose her therein if he does not wish to become the butt of ignominy in the village. When the husband does not take another wife, the one whom he has deserted may strip him when he comes back from hunting or trading, leaving to him only his weapons; and she takes away [even] these if he positively refuses to return with her. But when the man can prove on his side that she has been unfaithful to him, either before or since he has left her, he can take another wife without any one being

able to raise objection. The woman cannot at her own whim abandon her husband, since he is her master, who has bought and paid for her; even her relatives cannot take her away from him; and if she leaves him custom authorizes him to kill her, without any one blaming him for it.<sup>40</sup> This has often brought on war between families, when [relatives] undertook to maintain the husband's right when the woman would not consent to return to him.

<sup>40</sup> "Wrong; the most severe toward this offense are the Miamis; but they do no more than to cut off the noses from such licentious persons." — ANON.

"This contradiction is offered somewhat too lightly; for among the tribes that Perrot visited, there was at least one in which the unfaithful wife was punished by death." This was the Illinois (*Relation of 1670*, chap. xi); and other savage peoples punished adultery even more severely than did the Miamis. "It is well, however, to add that, even among the Illinois, cutting off the nose was the penalty most commonly inflicted." — TAILHAN.

"East of the Mississippi the clan and gentile systems were most highly developed. The rules against marriage within the clan or gens were strictly enforced. Descent of name and property was in the female line among the Iroquoian, Muskogean, and southeastern Algonquian tribes, but in the male line among the Algonquians of the north and west. Among some tribes, such as the Creeks, female descent did not prevent the subjection of women. As a rule, however, women had clearly defined rights. Gifts took the place of purchase. Courtship was practically alike in all the Atlantic tribes of the Algonquian stock; though the young men sometimes managed the matter themselves, the parents generally arranged the match. A Delaware mother would bring some game killed by her son to the girl's relatives and receive an appropriate gift in return. If the marriage was agreed upon, presents of this kind were continued for a long time. A Delaware husband could put away his wife at pleasure, especially if she had no children, and a woman could leave her husband. The Hurons and the Iroquois had a perfect matriarchate, which limited freedom of choice. Proposals made to the girl's mother were submitted by her to the women's council, whose decision was final among the Hurons. Iroquois unions were arranged by the mothers without the consent or knowledge of the couple. Polygamy was permissible for a Huron, but forbidden to the Iroquois. Divorce was discreditable, but could easily be effected. The children went with the mother. Monogamy is thus found to be the prevalent form of marriage throughout the continent. The economic factor is everywhere potent, but an actual purchase is not common. The marriage bond is loose, and may, with few exceptions, be dissolved by the wife as well as by the husband. The children generally stay with their mother, and always do in tribes having maternal clans." — ROBERT H. LOWIE, and LIVINGSTON FARRAND, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



The Irroquois, the Loups, and some other tribes do not act toward their women as the Outaouias do; there are among them, however, some men who never leave their wives and love no other woman during life. But the greater number, especially the young men, marry in order to leave their wives whenever they please. The man and wife take each other for a hunting or trading voyage, and share equally the profit they have made therein. The husband can even agree with the wife regarding what he will give her for such time as he desires to keep her with him, under condition that she remain faithful to him; she also, after having ended the voyage, can separate from him.<sup>41</sup> There are some of them, however, who feel a mutual love, and always live together; these are the couples who have had children; and the latter, according to the rule of the savages, belong to the mother, since they always live with her—the boys, until they are ready to be married; and the girls, until the death of the mother. If the father should leave his wife, the children whom he has had by her would not fail, when they grew up, to treat him with contempt, and to overwhelm him with reproaches for having abandoned them in their childhood and left to their mother all the care and hardship of rearing them.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "All the savages take with them some women on a campaign, and they have others who remain at home with the children." — ANON.

"Simultaneous plural marriage was, as a fact, practiced by the greater number of the peoples of New France. It was in vogue in the valley of the St. Lawrence (Biard's *Relation*, chap. vi; *Relation* of 1644, chap. viii; Perrot, p. 27; La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 31; Charlevoix's *Histoire*, vol. iii, 283), and, in the great valley of the Mississippi, among the Illinois and the Sioux, and others (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vii, 21, 22; *Relation* of 1660, chap. iii)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>42</sup> "Idle tales." — ANON.

"This contradiction is no more deserved than that one which is questioned in the first note to this chapter. An Illinois could not separate from his wife when he had had children by her (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vii, 21, 22). As for children taking the side of their mother against their father who had abandoned her, I read something of the same sort in Father Lafitau's *Mœurs des sauvages Américains*, vol. i, 189, 190." — TAILHAN.

I. *Customs in use among the savages of both North and South who speak the Algonkin language, or those who spring from that stock, when they seek a girl in marriage*

Those peoples make love secretly, during a rather long time. The youth makes the first beginning, by declaring his purpose to some one of his friends whose discretion and fidelity he knows; the girl does as much, on her side, and chooses as confidant one of her companions, to whom she discloses her secret. The youth, having with him the comrade whom alone he has informed of his love, approaches at an unseasonable hour the place where the girl is sleeping, and informs her that he wishes to visit her. If she consents to this, he sits down close to her, and makes known to her, in the most decorous manner, the affection that he feels toward her, and his intention of making her his wife. If the girl does not give a favorable reply on an occasion of this sort, after he has made his declaration, he then withdraws; but he returns on the next day, in the same manner as before. He continues to visit her every night, until he has gained her consent, given by her telling him that her mother is mistress of her person.<sup>43</sup>

The young man then goes to his mother, and announces to her the name of the girl whom he is seeking

<sup>43</sup> "These love-affairs are greatly exaggerated." — ANON.

"Not so, however, in regard to what Perrot says of the custom, universally accepted among those peoples, in pursuance of which the young men went at night to visit the young women whom they sought in marriage. The early missionaries frequently mention it, and continually lament the dissolute acts which resulted from such a custom. Among other accounts of this subject the reader may consult the *Relations*: of 1639 (chap. iv), of 1640 (chap. viii), of 1642 (chap. ii), of 1643 (chap. iv), of 1670 (chap. xi). Among some of the Canadian tribes these nocturnal visits took place by way of pastime, without any idea of marriage (*Relation* of 1642, chap. x)." — TAILHAN.

The reader will find in the *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901) abundant information and curious details regarding Indian customs in courtship, marriage, and divorce (see index of that work, in art. "Indians"). — ED.



in marriage, with the consent which the latter has given him. The mother then tells his father, or, if he has none, the uncle or nearest cousin; and the two go to visit the girl's family, in order to propose to them the alliance with their son. Sometimes it is sufficient to make this proposal to the brother of the girl, who will then discuss it with their mother; and, after having gained her consent, the relatives meet together in order to settle what amount, whether in furs or in other goods, they will give to provide for the young people. The mother of the young man carries to the girl's home the half of what shall be given her in marriage, and returns thither two or three times to carry something in order, as she says, to pay for the body of her future daughter-in-law. During that time all the goods are distributed among the relatives of the girl, who reimburse the mother-in-law for part of them with provisions, such as Indian corn and other kinds of grain; for it is the woman who takes care to furnish her husband with grain. The new bride is dressed as handsomely as possible, and is accompanied by her mother-in-law, who points out to the girl the place near herself which she must occupy with her husband, who is then strolling in the village. When the bride is seated, the mother-in-law takes from her all the garments which she has on her person, and gives her others, also some goods which she carries to the girl. The latter then returns to her mother, who again strips her of all her finery, and receives from her all the goods that she has; then having dressed the girl for the last time, the mother sends her back to her husband's house, making her a present of some sacks of grain. Repeated visits of this sort are sometimes made very often; but when it is desired to end them the girl is dressed in ragged garments, and it is by this means that the marriage cere-

monies are terminated; for after that she lives with her mother-in-law, who has charge of her.

Although the savages have not, at bottom, much esteem for modesty they nevertheless surpass the Europeans in external propriety; for in all their love-affairs they never utter in conversation a word which can wound chaste feelings. There are among them some who, after being married, have remained six months or even a year without intercourse, and others the same for more or less time. The reason which they give for this is, that they marry not because of lust, but purely through affection.<sup>44</sup>

When the marriage has been consummated, the newly wedded go together to hunt and fish; and thence they return to the village, to the cabin of the girl's mother, and give her whatever they have brought. This mother takes a part of it to give to the mother of the youth, who is obliged to live with his mother-in-law and work for her during two years, for it is his duty to do so. During all that time, she alone is under obligation to feed and support him; and if he must give any feast she pays the expense of it.

After he has served his two years with his mother-in-law, he returns with his wife to his own mother; and

<sup>44</sup> "A mere story; that does not occur except when there is only an engagement between the young people." — ANON.

"But here is what I read in the *Relation* of 1652, chap. ii: 'Those peoples ordinarily behave, during the first two, three, or four months of their married life, as if they were brother and sister, giving as a reason for their mode of conduct that they love each other with the affection of near relatives, who feel a horror of carnal actions. This love of relationship is among the pagans greater and stronger than the love of marriage, into which it degenerates. If in those first months they come to dislike each other, they part without any disturbance, remaining as they were before.' Cf. La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 20), Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. i, 514), and Gravier (*Relation de la mission de Notre Dame*)."—TAILHAN.

On this point, see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. ix, 308, vol. xviii, 177, vol. xix, 69, vol. xxxvii, 153-155, vol. xl, 229. Continence was also practiced to obtain favorable dreams (vol. xvii, 203).—ED.

when he comes back from hunting or fishing he gives his mother-in-law a part of what he has brought back for his mother. Similarly, when he returns from trading it is always the wishes of his mother-in-law to which he must pay regard;<sup>45</sup> and his wife is obliged to do whatever work is suitable for women, the same as if she were the servant of the house. When either the man or his wife dies, the members of the family to which the dead person belongs exhaust their means, and contribute among the relatives, to furnish peltries, merchandise, and provisions to be carried to the parents of the departed, so as to aid the latter in meeting the great expenses which they necessarily incur on that occasion. In following pages mention will be made of matters concerning the mode in which they solemnize their funerals.

If the husband dies, the wife cannot marry again unless the man is one to the liking of the mother-in-law,<sup>46</sup> and after two years of mourning. This period the widow observes by cutting off her hair, and not using any grease on it; she combs it as seldom as she possibly can, and it is always bristling; she also goes without vermilion, which she can no longer use on her face. Her clothing is but a wretched rag, sometimes a worn-out old blanket, sometimes a hide black with dirt, so wretched that it cannot be used for anything else. She is interdicted from visiting her friends, unless they have previously visited her or she meets them when she goes out

<sup>45</sup> "The anonymous annotator has corrected all this passage in the following manner: 'When he returns from hunting or fishing his mother gives him a part of what he has brought, for his mother-in-law; if he comes from trading, similarly, and his wife is obliged,' etc. But this correction cannot, nor should it, be accepted. It is contrary to the author's real meaning, clearly expressed in the original text. La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 30, 31) agrees with Perrot."

—TAILHAN.

<sup>46</sup> "Wrong." — ANON.

"Correct, according to Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 376) and Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 439, 440)." — TAILHAN.



to search for firewood. In the cabin she usually occupies the place which her husband had while living. In whatever place she may be, she must not show any indication of pleasure, and it is not without having to suffer pain that she must thus restrain herself; because the savages, when they see the women weeping for their departed husbands, mock them and say a thousand insulting things to them. She continues to render the same services to the parents of her husband, and yields an entire submission to all that they command her to do, as she did when he was alive. Those about her show, it is true, much consideration for her modesty and for the line of conduct which she is obliged to follow; for they take special pains not to give in the least thing any occasion for grief—either giving her food, or sending to the house of her parents, out of respect to her, the best of what they have, without either herself or her family being expected to reciprocate the gift through politeness.

When her two years of widowhood have expired, if she has strictly observed [the requirements of] her mourning, they take off her rags, and she again puts on handsome garments; she rubs vermilion on her hair and her face, and wears her earrings, her collar of glass and porcelain beads, and other trinkets which the savages consider most valuable. If one of the brothers or near relatives of her late husband loves her, he marries her; if not, she accepts [as husband] <sup>47</sup> some man whom she is obliged to marry, without the power to refuse him—for the parents of the deceased are masters of her body. But

<sup>47</sup> Fr. *sinon elle en adopte un*. Tailhan says here: "From what has been said by Perrot in the preceding paragraph, we must conclude that here the pronoun *elle* relates not to the widow, but to her mother-in-law." He evidently thinks that the latter, in default of another son, adopts one, for the purpose of providing a husband for the widowed daughter-in-law; but his antecedent for *elle* seems rather too far-fetched, since Perrot seems to mean here that a second husband for the widow is chosen for her by the mother-in-law. — ED.

if they do not provide a husband for her she cannot be hindered from marrying some other man after the period of her widowhood is ended; and in leaving to her this liberty they are obliged to recognize her fidelity by presents.

If any one of her relatives who already had one wife took the widow as his second one, his first wife would be the mistress [of the household]. If the widow were not his relative, and if he did not on his return from hunting or fishing give her a share of what he brought back, this would arouse so great jealousy between his two wives that they would begin to fight over it; and, the two families coming to mutual encounter, each to support the cause of the woman who belonged to it, very grievous accidents would occur, without any one being able to interfere to prevent them or to put an end to the quarrel. Some chief has the right only to quiet them, when he sees that in the fray there has been bloodshed. But very often settlements thus made are not of long duration; for on the first opportunity they remind each other of the quarrel, and finally one of the two wives is constrained to quit the husband, which in such case is permitted to her. But if he has any supplies, whether meat or fish, the wife who leaves him carries away from him, with the assistance of her mother, sisters, cousins, or nieces, all that he has, without his offering any opposition; and the quarrel begins afresh over this matter. Nevertheless, one sees among the savages many men who have two wives, and who yet live in quite harmonious manner, although not relatives – for when the women are such they always live together without any strife, all that is furnished by their husband being for the common use of their family, who cultivate the land together. But when the wives are not of kin they work separately, and



strive to be each richer than the other in grain and produce, in order with these to make presents on both sides and maintain friendly and pleasant relations.

When the wife dies, the husband in like manner observes his mourning. He does not weep, but he refrains entirely from painting his face with vermilion, and puts only a very little grease on his hair. He makes presents to the parents of the deceased wife; if he does not lodge with them he sends them the best part of his game or fish, or of any other gains. It is not permitted to him to marry again until after his two years of mourning, and when he has spent them in the manner required. If he is a good hunter, or has some other accomplishment, his sister-in-law or one of her cousins is given to him in marriage; but if there are none of these he accepts a girl who is regarded as suitable, whom he is obliged to take for his wife, without the power of refusal; for he is prohibited from marrying again save with the knowledge and consent of his mother-in-law, in case she is alive, or at the will of her relatives if she is dead. If he disobeyed this rule all the relatives of his deceased wife would heap a thousand indignities on the woman whom he had taken without such consent; and if he had two wives, they would do the same to the other one. The relatives would carry their animosity so far that the brothers or the cousins of the deceased woman would league themselves with their comrades to carry away his new wife and violate her; and this act would be considered by disinterested persons as having been legitimately perpetrated. This is the reason why very few men are known to make such a mistake when they marry again, since this is the law among them, although it is not universal.

The chiefs of the villages are not under obligation to remain widowers after six months' time, because they

cannot get along without women to serve them, and to cultivate the lands which produce their tobacco and all [else] that is necessary for them to be prepared to receive those who come to visit them, and strangers who have any business regarding the tribe to place before them. But it is not the same with the war-chiefs, who are, like the others, obliged to spend two years as widowers; and if such a man is not a good hunter, or if he does not please the family of the dead woman, they content themselves with making him a present and telling him to look for his comfort where he can find it.<sup>48</sup>

## II. *Practice or occupations of the men*

Among the savages the men are obliged to hunt and fish. They usually live along the shores of the lake otherwise called "the fresh-water sea" [i.e., Lake Superior], and they repair to it in the evening to stretch their nets, and then in the morning to lift these out. They are obliged to bring their venison to the door of the cabin, and their fish to the landing-place, where they leave it in the canoe. It is their duty to go to find the wood and poles suitable for building the cabin, and roofing for the cabin which stands in the regular village, not out in the fields; also to make the canoes, if they are skilful enough, and to chop all the wood which they need, as it is taken for granted that this is somewhat rough work. When they are on the road, it is for the

<sup>48</sup> "The *Relations* of New France, and La Potherie, Lafitau, and Charlevoix, could furnish—besides what I have borrowed from them in the previous notes—many more and fresh proofs in support of Perrot's veracity, and of the accuracy of his information on all that concerns marriage among the savages of Canada; but one must keep within bounds. I will content myself with placing before the reader's eyes the following references: Champlain, *Voyages*, 293, 294; *Relations*—of 1639 (chap. x), of 1642 (chap. xi), of 1646 (chap. x, and part 2, chap. ii), of 1657 (chap. xii), of 1670 (chap. xi); La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 13 ff; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 284 ff."—TAILHAN.

man to carry the load if the woman finds herself too heavily burdened, or the child if it is unable to follow them; when these difficulties do not occur, he marches at his ease, carrying only his weapons.

### III. *Occupations of the woman*

The obligations of the women are to carry into the cabin (of which she is the mistress) the meat which the husband leaves at the door, and to dry it; to take charge of the cooking; to go to get the fish at the landing, and clean it; to make twine, in order to provide nets for the men; to furnish firewood; to raise and harvest the grain; not to fail in supplying shoes for the entire family, and to dry those of her husband and give them to him when he needs them. The women also are obliged to go to bring water, if they have no servants in the house; to make bags\* for holding the grain, and mats of rushes (either flat, or round, or long) to serve as roofing for the cabins or as mattresses. Finally, it is for them to dress the skins of the animals which the husband kills in hunting, and to make robes of those which have fur. When they are traveling, the women carry the roofing

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\* Many varieties of bags and pouches were made by the Indians of the United States and were used for a great number of purposes," especially to serve in place of pockets in garments, and for a means of transportation. "The pouch was a receptacle of flexible material for containing various objects and substances of personal use and ceremony, and was generally an adjunct of costume. The bag, larger and simpler, was used for the gathering, transportation, and storage of game and other food. The material was tawed leather of various kinds, tanned leather, rawhide, fur skins, skins of birds; the bladder, stomach, or pericardium of animals; cord of babiche, buckskin or wool, hair, bark, fiber, grass, and the like; basketry, cloth, beadwork, etc." These receptacles were of many shapes and sizes, and often were provided with flaps, or with straps or thongs for attaching them to shoulder or belt, or for suspending them from neck or forehead. "Most bags and pouches were ornamented, and in very few other belongings of the Indian were displayed such fertility of invention and such skill in the execution of the decorative and symbolic designs." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



for the cabin, if there is no canoe. They apply themselves to fashioning dishes of bark, and their husbands make the wooden dishes. They fabricate many curious little articles which are much in demand by our French people, and which they even send to France as rarities.<sup>49</sup>

#### IV. *Of the children*

When a child, either boy or girl, has reached the age of five or six months, the father and mother make a feast with the best provisions that they have, to which they invite a juggler with five or six of his disciples. This juggler is one of those who formerly offered sacrifices [to their divinities]; he will be described in the following pages. The father of the family addresses him, and tells him that he is invited in order to pierce the nose and ears of his child; and that he is offering this feast to the sun, or to some other pretended divinity whose name he mentions, entreating that divinity to take pity on his child and preserve its life. The juggler then replies, according to custom, and makes his invocation to the spirit whom the father has chosen. Food is presented to this man and his disciples, and if any is left they are permitted to carry it away with them. When they have finished their meal, the mother of the child places before the guests some peltries, kettles, or other wares, and

<sup>49</sup> "All that Perrot says here of the occupations, and of the respective shares of the man and the woman in the tasks of the household, has been reproduced by Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 331-334), and is in entire accord with the details given upon the same subject, not only by Champlain (*Voyages*, 292, 293) but by the *Relations* of early missionaries. See especially those of 1633 and of 1634 (chap. v); also Charlevoix (*ut supra*), and Father Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 3, 63 ff., 106 ff.). Among the Illinois it was very nearly the same, except that the women there worked still more (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 179, 329). Further on, we see that the Huron men, as an exception to the custom in force among all the other savage tribes in Canada, shared with their women the labors of the fields. Among the Tounika of Louisiana the men took as their part all the toilsome labors, and left to their women only the care of the household (*Gravier, Voyage*, 30)." — TAILHAN.

places her child in the arms of the juggler, who gives it to one of his disciples to hold. After he has ended his song in honor of the spirit invoked, he takes from his pouch a flat bodkin made of a bone, and a stout awl,<sup>60</sup> and with the former pierces both ears of the child, and with the awl its nose. He fills the wounds in the ears with little rolls of bark, and in the nose he places the end of a small quill, and leaves it there until the wound is healed by a certain ointment with which he dresses it. When it has healed, he places in the aperture some down of the swan or the wild goose.

This child has for a cradle a very light piece of board, which is ornamented at the head with glass beads or bells, or with porcelain beads either round or long. If the father is a good hunter, he has all his adornments\* placed on the cradle; when the child is a boy, a bow is attached to it; but if it is a girl, only the mere ornaments are on it. When the child cries, its mother quiets it by singing a song that describes the duties of a man, for her

<sup>60</sup> "The aboriginal American awl is a sharpened stick, bone, stone, or piece of metal, used as a perforator in sewing. It was universal among Indians from the earliest times, and is one of the familiar archæologic objects recovered from excavations in prehistoric sites." The awl was used to make perforations through which thread of sinew or other sewing material was passed when skins for moccasins, clothing, tents, etc., were sewed, and in quillwork, beadwork, and basket work. Other uses for awls were for making holes for pegs in woodwork, as a gauge in canoe-making, for shredding sinew, for graving, etc., and various implements resembling awls were used for many other purposes. "The awl was so indispensable in everyday work that it was usually carried on the person, and many kinds of sheaths and cases were made for holding it;" these were of various materials, and often handsomely ornamented. — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The primitive tools and implements used by the aborigines were of course early replaced by the improved articles of European manufacture. — ED.

\* The text here, and in the last clause of this period, reads *apiffements*, which is probably a copyist's error in the Ms. used by Tailhan. The word should be *attifements*, which is not found in the lexicons, but was doubtless coined by Perrot (or else was current in his day) from *attifer*, meaning "to adorn or bedeck the person." — CRAWFORD LINDSAY, official translator for the Legislature of Quebec.



boy; and those of a woman, for her daughter. As soon as the child begins to walk, a little bow with stiff straws is given to a boy, so that he may amuse himself by shooting them. When he has grown a little larger, they give him little arrows of very light weight; but when he has once attained the age of eight or ten years he occupies himself with hunting squirrels and small birds. Thus he is trained and rendered capable of becoming some day skilful in hunting. Such is the method pursued by the upper tribes; those down here no longer use this sort of circumcisions, and do not call in jugglers to make them; the father, or some friend of the family, performs this ceremony without any further formality.

#### VIII. Of funerals among the savages of the upper country, and the manner in which they perform the obsequies

When an Outaoüas, or other savage [of that region] is at the point of death, he is decked with all the ornaments owned by the family—I mean, among his kindred and his connections by marriage. They dress his hair with red paint mixed with grease, and paint his body and his face red with vermilion; they put on him one of his handsomest shirts, if he has such, and he is clad with a jacket and a blanket, as richly as possible; he is, in a word, as properly garbed as if he had to conduct the most solemn ceremony. They take care to adorn the place where he is [lying] with necklaces of porcelain and glass beads (both round and long), or other trinkets. His weapons lie beside him, and at his feet generally all articles that he has used in war during his life. All his relatives—and, above all, the jugglers—are near him. When the sick man seems to be in agony, and struggles to yield up his last breath, the women

and girls among his relations, with others who are hired [for this purpose], betake themselves to mourning, and begin to sing doleful songs, in which mention is made of the degrees of relationship which they have with the sufferer. But if he seems to be recovering, and to regain consciousness, the women cease their weeping; but they recommence their cries and lamentations whenever the patient relapses into convulsions or faintness. When he is dead (or a moment before he expires), they raise him to a sitting position, his back supported, [to look] as if he were alive. I will say here, in passing, that I have seen some savages whose death-agonies lasted more than twenty-four hours, the sick man making fearful grimaces and contortions, and rolling his eyes in the most frightful manner; you would have believed that the soul of the dying man beheld and dreaded some enemy, although he was lying there without recognizing us, and almost dead. The corpse remains thus sitting until the next day, and is kept in this position both day and night by the relatives and friends who go to visit the family; they are also assisted from time to time by some old man, who takes his place near the women who are relatives of the dead man. [One of them] begins her mournful song, while she weeps hot tears; all the others join her therein, but they cease to sing at the same time when she does; and then a present is given to her—a piece of meat, a dish of corn, or some other article.

As for the men, they do not weep, for that would be unworthy of them; the father alone makes it evident, by a doleful song, that there is no longer anything in the world which can console him for the death of his son. A brother follows the same practice for his elder brother, when he has received from the latter during his life vis-

ible marks of tenderness and affection. In such case, the brother takes his place naked, his face smeared with charcoal, mingled with a few red lines. He holds in his hands his bow and arrows, as if he intended at the start to go against some enemy; and, singing a song in a most furious tone, he runs like a lunatic through the open places, the streets, and the cabins of the village, without shedding a tear. By this extraordinary performance he makes known to all who see him how great is his sorrow for the death of his brother; this softens the hearts of his neighbors, and obliges them to provide among themselves a present, which they come to offer to the dead. In the speech with which they accompany this gift they declare that it is made in order to wipe away the tears of his relatives; and that the mat which they give him is for him to lie on, or [that they give] a piece of bark\* to shelter his corpse from the injurious effects of the weather.

When the time comes for burying the corpse, they go to find the persons designated for this office; and a scaffold is erected seven or eight feet high, which serves the

\* "Among the resources of nature utilized by the tribes of North America bark was of prime importance. It was stripped from trees at the right season by hacking all around and taking it off in sheets of desired length. The inner bark of cedar, elm, and other trees was in some localities torn into strips, shredded, twisted, and spun or woven. The bark of wild flax (*Apocynum*) and the *Asclepias* were made into soft textiles. Bark had a multitude of functions. . . It supplied many tribes with an article of diet in the spring, their period of greatest need. . . For gathering, carrying, garnering, preparing, and serving food, the bark of birch, elm, pine, and other trees was so handy as to discourage the potter's art among non-sedentary tribes. It was wrought into yarn, twine, rope, wallets, baskets, mats, canoes, cooking-pots for hot stones, dishes for serving, vessels for storing, and many textile utensils connected with the consumption of food in ordinary and social life." Bark was also used for the roofs and sides of dwellings, and was woven into matting for floors, beds, and partitions; and from it were made trays and boxes, cradles, and coffins. The thin inner bark was used as materials for clothing. Bark furnished materials for basketry, dyeing, implements for hunting and fishing, tribal records, and ceremonial usages. — OTIS T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



dead in place of a grave—or, if he is placed in the ground, they dig for him a grave only four or five feet deep. During all this time, the family of him whose funeral is solemnized exert all their energies to bring him grain, or peltries, or other goods, [which they place] either on the scaffold or near the grave; and when one or the other is completed they carry thither the corpse, in the same position which it had at death, and clothed with the same fine apparel. Near him are his weapons, and at his feet all the articles which had been placed there before his death. When the funeral ceremonies have been performed and the body buried, the family make liberal payment to those who took part therein, by giving them a kettle or some porcelain necklaces for their trouble.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> "The disposal of the dead by the Indians may be classed under the heads 'Burial' and 'Cremation.' The usual mode of burial among North American Indians has been by inhumation, or interment in pits, graves, or holes in the ground, in stone cists, in mounds, beneath or in cabin, wigwams, houses, or lodges, or in caves. . . . Embalment and mummification were practiced to a limited extent; the former chiefly in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Florida, and the latter in Alaska. . . . Scaffold and tree burial was practiced in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, etc., by the Chippewa, Sioux . . . and other Indians. The burial mounds of Wisconsin indicate this mode of disposing of the dead in former times, as the skeletons were buried after the removal of the flesh, and the bones frequently indicate long exposure to the air. . . . It was also the custom among the Indians of the Lake region to have at certain periods what may be termed communal burials, in which the bodies or skeletons of a district were removed from their temporary burial places and deposited with much ceremony in a single large pit" (see Brebeuf's account, in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. x, 279-311, of "the solemn feast of the dead"). "Cremation was formerly practiced by a number of tribes of the Pacific slope. The ancient inhabitants of southern Arizona practiced cremation in addition to house burial, the ashes of the cremated dead being placed in urns; but among the modern Pueblos, especially those most affected by Spanish missionaries, burials are made in cemeteries in the villages. The ceremonies attending and following burial were various. The use of fire was common, and it was also a very general custom to place food, articles especially prized by or of interest to the dead, and sometimes articles having a symbolic signification, in or near the grave. Scarifying the body, cutting the hair, and blackening the face by the mourners were common customs, as, in some tribes, were feasts and dancing at a death or funeral. As a rule the bereaved relatives observed some kind of mourning for

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All the people in the village are obliged to attend the funeral procession; and, when all is over, one man among them all steps forward, who holds in his hand a little wooden rod, as large as one's finger and some five inches long, which he throws into the midst of the crowd, for him who can catch it. When it has fallen into some person's hand the rest try to snatch it from him; if it falls on the ground every one tries to reach it to pick it up, pulling and pushing each other so violently that in less than half an hour it has passed through the hands of all those who are present. If at last any one of the crowd can get possession of it, and display it to them without any one taking it from him, he sells it for a fixed price to the first person who desires to buy it; this price will be very often a kettle, a gun, or a blanket. The bystanders are then notified to be present again, on some day appointed, for a similar ceremony; and this is done, sometimes quite often, as I have just related.

After this diversion, public notice is given that there is another prize, to be given to the best runner among the young men. The goal of this race is indicated, [and the course is marked out] from the place where the runners must start to that which they are to reach. All the young men adorn themselves, and form in a long row on the open plain. At the first call of the man who is to give the signal, they commence to run, at some distance from the village, and the first one who arrives there carries away the prize.

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a certain period, as cutting the hair, discarding ornaments, and neglecting the personal appearance, carrying a bundle representing the husband (among the Chippewa, etc.); or the bones of the dead husband (among some northern Athapaskan tribes), and wailing morning and night in solitary places. It was a custom among some tribes to change the name of the family of the deceased, and to drop the name of the dead in whatever connection." See especially Yarrow's "Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," in the first *Report of the Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*. — CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Mortuary Customs."

A few days afterward the relatives of the dead man give a feast of meat and corn, to which are invited all the villagers who are not connected with them by marriage and who are descended from other families than their own – and especially those persons who have made presents to the dead. They also invite, if any such are found, strangers who have come from other villages; and they inform all the guests that it is the dead man who gives them this feast. If it is one of meat, they take a piece of this, as well as of other kinds of food, which they must place upon the grave; and the women, girls, and children are permitted to eat these morsels, but not the grown men, for these must regard such act as unworthy of them. At this feast each is free to eat what he wishes, and to carry the rest [of his portion] home with him. Considerable presents in goods are given to all those strangers who have previously made presents to the dead person; but these are not given to his own tribesmen. The guests are then thanked for having remembered the dead, and congratulated on their charitable dispositions.<sup>52</sup>

## II. *The mourning of the savages, in general*

I have already described the mourning of husbands and of wives, each for the other; but not all the savages who are under obligation to observe the general mourning put grease or vermilion on the face and hair. If it

<sup>52</sup> "With the description given by Perrot of burial and mourning among the savages may be compared what is said on the same subject by Biard (*Relation*, chap. viii), Champlain (*Voyages*, 303), and, among the *Relations* of New France, those of 1636 (chap. viii) and of 1639 (chap. x). It is these sources from which all the historians of Canada have drawn – La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 43-45), Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 388 ff.), Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 371-376), and Monsieur Ferland (*Cours d'histoire*, vol. i, 101, 102). The Illinois did not inter their dead. The corpse, carefully wrapped in skins, was attached by the head and feet to the upper part of trees (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 178, 179)." – TAILHAN.

is a chief who has died, his near relative may not converse, save in a very low tone with that one of his friends who is commissioned to express his wishes; he is obliged to avoid social intercourse and worldly conversation; he may, however, be present at feasts to which he is invited, but may not utter a word while there. When presents are brought to him for the dead man, that [official] friend receives them and returns thanks for him. It must be noted that the children and young people of both sexes are not under obligation to this general mourning; it is only adult persons who cannot excuse themselves from it. It lasts a whole year, at the end of which time the relatives assemble to adopt a person who is qualified to assume the office of the dead chief, and who must be of the same rank. As for women, girls, or boys, a similar usage prevails, [the adopted one being] of the same age and sex [as the dead]. Then they adorn themselves and paint themselves with vermilion, each person remaining in his place in the cabin. The parents of the departed man or woman are present therein, also clad with the best garments that they possess.

At the outset, three persons are requested to sing, and to beat the drum,<sup>58</sup> keeping time with the measure of their song. The person, whether man or woman, who has been adopted immediately enters the cabin of the departed, dancing; and after he has offered presents, composed of peltries or other goods, to the nearest relative of the deceased person whose place the newcomer has taken, he continues dancing all day to the sound of that instrument, which is ordinarily the guide for the dancing of the savages. During this time the parents of the departed stop him occasionally in his dancing, to place some adornments on his body or his neck; or else

<sup>58</sup> This drum is described in the *Relation* of 1634, chap. iv. — TAILHAN.



they present to him a blanket, shirt, or cloak; and they paint him with vermilion, and adorn him as handsomely as they can. When the dance is ended, they give him food, with various presents, in memory of him whose place he has taken, in whose behalf he danced and appeared on this solemn occasion. This man, or this woman, assures the family that he or she will always be ready to render them all the services which shall be within their power—whether to cook and serve the food at their feasts, or to discharge any commissions which may be entrusted to them. In fine, these who are adopted yield themselves to serve as attendants or servants of the family; moreover, when they have anything of value they carry the greater part of it to their master; and they regard themselves as united to this family, as much as if they were actually kindred.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The reasons for adopting a living person to take the place of the dead—thus, in Indian phrase, “bringing back the dead to life”—are given in the *Relation* of 1642, chap. xii. See also those of 1636 (chap. viii), of 1644 (chap. xiv), of 1646 (chap. x), and of 1669 (chap. vii). — TAILHAN.

Adoption was “an almost universal political and social institution which originally dealt only with persons but later with families, clans or gentes, bands, and tribes. It had its beginnings far back in the history of primitive society and, after passing through many forms and losing much ceremonial garb, appears to-day in the civilized institution of naturalization. In the primitive mind the fundamental motive underlying adoption was to defeat the evil purpose of death to remove a member of a kinship group, by actually replacing in person the lost or dead member.” By a fiction of law, the personality as well as the political status might be changed by adoption, as when two sisters were adopted into different clans. “From the political adoption of the Tuscarora by the Five Nations, about 1726, it is evident that tribes, families, clans, and groups of people could be adopted like persons.” The person adopted received a personal name and a kinship name (as “son” or “uncle”), and even a fictitious age might be conferred on him. In the Iroquois League, there were various grades of adoption for other peoples admitted to the confederacy, by which they were made probationers for citizenship, which would be granted after they had received sufficient tutelage. This adoption of tribes was practiced by the Iroquois in order to recruit the great losses incurred in their many wars.

— J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



### III. *The manner in which the savages celebrate the feast of their dead*

If the savages intend to celebrate the feast of their dead, they take care to make the necessary provision for it beforehand. When they return from their trade with the Europeans, they carry back with them the articles which suit them for this purpose; and in their houses they lay in a store of meat, corn, peltries, and other goods. When they return from their hunting, all those of the village come together to solemnize this feast. After resolving to do so, they send deputies from their own people into all the neighboring villages that are allied with them, and even as far away as a hundred leagues or more, to invite those people to attend this feast. In entreating them to be present at it, they designate the time which had been fixed for its solemnization. The greater part of the men in those villages who are invited to this feast set out, a number in each canoe, and these together provide a small fund with which to offer a common present to the village which has invited them, on their arrival there. Those who have invited them make ready for their coming a large cabin, stoutly built and well covered, for lodging and entertaining all those whom they expect. As soon as all the people have arrived, they take their places, each nation separately from the others, at the ends and in the middle of the cabin, and, thus assembled, they offer their presents and lay aside their [outer] garments, saying that messengers have come to invite them to pay their respects to the shades and the memory of the departed in that village; and immediately they begin to dance to the noise of a drum and of a gourd which contains some small pebbles, both keeping the same time. They dance from one end to the other of the cabin, returning after one another, in single file, around three

spruce-trees or three cornstalks which are set up there. During these dances, people are at work preparing the meal; they kill dogs, and have these cooked with other viands which are speedily prepared. When all is ready, they make the guests rest a little while, and after all the dances are ended the repast is served.

I omitted to state that as soon as the hosts call for the dances to stop they take from their guests the presents which they have made, and all their garments; and in exchange for these the visitors are given, by those who invited them, other articles of clothing which are more valuable. If the hosts have just returned [from the trading],<sup>55</sup> these are shirts, coats, jackets, stockings, new blankets, or [packages of] paints and vermilion, even though the guests have brought only old garments—perhaps greasy skins, or robes [made from the skins] of beavers, wild-cats, bears, and other animals.

When those who are invited from the other villages have all arrived, the same entry and the same reception are provided for the people of each village. When all are assembled, they are expected to dance all at the same time during three consecutive days; and during this period one of the hosts invites to a feast at his own house about twenty persons, who are chosen and sent out by their own people. But instead of serving food at this feast, it is presents which are offered to the guests, such as kettles, hatchets, and other articles from the trade; there is, however, nothing to eat. The presents which they have received belong in common to the tribesmen; if these were articles of food, they can eat them, which accordingly they do very punctually, for their appetites

<sup>55</sup> "There is evidently a lacuna of several words here. As there is, in this passage mention of presents of which the European origin could not be doubted, I have restored the mutilated phrase thus: *S'ils reviennent de la traite, ce sont, etc.*" — TAILHAN.

never fail them. Another of the hosts will do the same for other dancers, who will be invited to come to his house, and see how his people treat [their guests] – until all those of the [entertaining] village have in turn given feasts of this sort. During [these] three days they lavish all that they possess in trade-goods or other articles; and they reduce themselves to such an extreme of poverty that they do not even reserve for themselves a single hatchet or knife. Very often they keep back for their own use only one old kettle; and the sole object for which they incur all this expenditure is, that they may render the souls of the departed more happy and more highly respected in the country of the dead. For the savages believe that they are under the strictest obligation to perform, in the honors which they pay to their dead, all that I have related, and that it is only this sort of lavish spending which can fully secure rest for the departed souls; for it is the custom among those people to give whatever they possess, without reservation, in the ceremonies of funerals or of other superstitions. There are still some of those savages who have sucked the milk of religion, who nevertheless have not wholly laid aside ideas of this sort, and who bury with the corpse whatever belonged to the person during his life. Solemnities of this kind for the dead were formerly celebrated every year, each tribe being alternately hosts and guests; but for several years past this has been no longer the custom, except among some few [villages]. The Frenchmen who have gone among them have made them realize that these useless extravagances of theirs were ruining their families, and reducing them to a lack of even the necessities of life.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Regarding the great feast of the dead, among not only the Hurons but the upper Algonquins, cf: Champlain, *Voyages*, 303, 304; the *Relations* of 1636 (chap. ix) and of 1642 (chap. xii); La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 47; Lafitau,

# IX. Belief of the unconverted savages in regard to the immortality of the soul, and the place where the departed dwell forever

All the savages who are not converted believe that the soul is immortal;<sup>57</sup> but they maintain that when it is separated from the body it goes to a beautiful and fertile land, where the climate is neither cold nor hot, but agreeably temperate. They say that that land abounds with animals and birds of every kind, and that the hunters while going through it are never in danger of hunger, having only to choose what animals they will attack, to obtain food. They tell us that this beautiful country is very far away, beyond this earth; and it is for this reason that they place on the scaffolds or in the graves of the dead, at their funerals, provisions and weapons, believing that the souls will find again in the other world, for their use, and especially in the voyage which they must make thither, whatever shall be given to them in this world.

They believe, furthermore, that as soon as the soul has left the body it enters this charming country,<sup>58</sup> and that, after having traveled many days, it encounters on its

*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 446-457; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 377, 378.  
— TAILHAN.

<sup>57</sup> The early writers fully confirm the strength and universality of this belief, among the savage tribes of America, in the immortality of the soul. See Cartier, *Seconde navigation*, chap. x, 50 (Quebec, 1843); Champlain, *Voyages*, 127; Biard, *Relation*, chap. viii; Lallemant in *Relation* of 1626; *Relations* — of 1634 (chap. iv), of 1636 (chap. ii), of 1637 (chap. xi), of 1639 (chap. x); *Lett. édif.*, vol. vii, 11, 12. "I know of but a single exception to this general consent. The Péouaroua Illinois declared to Father Gravier that man perished utterly, and that, if the soul survived, we would see the dead return to the earth (*Relation de la mission de Notre Dame*)."

— TAILHAN.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. various passages in the *Relation* of 1636, chap. ii and ix. — TAILHAN.  
Cf. traditions among the (modern) Winnebagoes, recorded in *Wis. Hist. Collections*, vol. xiii, 467. — ED.



} route a very rapid river, over which there is only a slender tree-trunk by way of bridge; and that in passing over this it bends so much that the soul is in danger of being swept away by the flood of waters. They assert that if unfortunately this mishap occurs, the soul will be drowned; but that all these perils are escaped when once the souls have reached the country of the dead. They believe also that the souls of young people, of either sex, have nothing to fear, because they are so vigorous; but it is not the same with those of the old people and the infants who have no assistance from other souls in this dangerous crossing, and it is this which very often causes them to perish.

They relate to us, moreover, that this same river abounds with fish, more in number than can be imagined. There are sturgeons and other kinds of fish in great numbers, which the souls kill with blows of their hatchets and clubs, so that they can roast these fish while on their journey, for they no longer find therein any game. After they have traveled a long time, in front of them appears a very steep mountain, which closes their path and compels them to seek another; but they do not find any way open, and it is only after experiencing great suffering that they finally arrive at this fearful passage. There two pestles of prodigious size, which in turn rise and fall without ceasing, form an obstacle most difficult to overcome; for death is absolutely inevitable if while making the passage one is unfortunately caught under [them] — I mean, while one of the two pestles is falling.<sup>59</sup> But the souls are very careful in watching for that fortunate

<sup>59</sup> "A contradictory statement; for if the soul is immortal it cannot be killed, either by the water or by the pestle." — ANON.

"Certainly; but it is not a question of finding a logical procedure in the assertions of savages. The real question reduces itself to ascertaining whether this belief actually existed among them, and not whether it is reasonable or absurd." — TAILHAN.

moment when they can clear a passage so dangerous; yet many fail in it, especially those of old persons and little children, who are less vigorous and move through it more slowly.

When the souls have once escaped from this peril, they enter a delightful country, in which excellent fruits are found in abundance; and the ground seems to be covered with all kinds of flowers, the odor of which is so admirable that it delights their hearts and charms their imaginations. The short remaining distance which they must traverse before arriving in the place where the sound of the drum and the gourds—marking time for [the steps of] the dead, to give them pleasure—falls agreeably on their ears, urges them on to hasten directly thither with great eagerness. The nearer they approach it, always the louder becomes this sound; and the joy which the dancers express by their continual exclamations serves to delight the souls still more. When they are very near the place where the ball is held, part of the dead men separate from the others in order to meet the newcomers, and assure them of the great pleasure which their arrival generally gives to the entire assembly. The souls are conducted into the place where the dance is held, and are cordially received by all who are there; and they find there innumerable viands, of all flavors, everything of the most delicious taste, and prepared in the best manner. It is for them to choose whatever pleases them, and to satisfy their appetites; and when they have finished eating they go to mingle with the others—to dance and make merry forever, without being any longer subject to sorrow, anxiety, or infirmities, or to any of the vicissitudes of mortal life.

Such is the opinion of the savages in regard to the immortality of the soul. It is a mere dream, although one

of the most absurd that can be invented; and they give [credit] to it with so much obstinacy that, when one tries to make them see its extravagance, they answer to \* Europeans who talk thus with them that we [white men] have a special country for our dead; and that they, having been created by spirits who dwelt together in friendly intercourse and were all good friends, had selected in the other world a country different from their own. They maintain that this is an undoubted truth, and that they have learned it from their ancestors. These forefathers once went so far in a military expedition that, after they had found the end and farthest limit of the earth, they passed through this gate of the pestles which I have just described, before entering that beautiful country; and then they heard at a little distance the sounds of beating the drums and rattling the gourds. Their curiosity having induced them to go forward, in order to ascertain what this was, they were discovered by the dead, who came toward them; and then, when they tried to flee, they were quickly overtaken and conducted into the cabins of these inhabitants of the other world, who received them with the utmost good-will. Afterward they escorted these men as far as the gateway of the pestles, which stopped their motion, to enable them to pass without danger; and the dead men, in leaving them there, told them not to come back again until after they should die, lest some evil should happen to them.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Cf. La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 45; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 351-353; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. i, 401-404, 409, 410. — TAILHAN.

## X. The games and amusements of the savages

### I. *The game of crosse*

The savages have several kinds of games, in which they take delight. They are naturally so addicted to these that they will give up their food and drink, not only to play but to watch the game. There is among them a certain game, called *crosse*,<sup>61</sup> which has much likeness to our game of long tennis. Their custom in playing it is to oppose tribe to tribe; and if one of these is more numerous than the other, men are drawn from it to render the other equal to it [in strength]. You will see them all equipped with the *crosse*—which is a light club, having at one end a broad flat part that is netted like a [tennis] racket; the ball that they use in playing is of wood, and shaped very nearly like a turkey's egg. The goals for the game are marked in an open level space; these goals face east and west, south and north. In order to win the game, one of the two parties must send its ball, by driving it [with the racket], beyond the goals that face east and west; and the other [must send] its ball beyond those to the south and north. If the party which has once won sends the ball again beyond the east and west goals from the side that it had to win, it is obliged to recommence the game, and to accept the goals of the opposing party; but if it should succeed in winning a second time, it would have accomplished nothing—for, as the parties are equal in strength, and are quits, they always begin the game again in order to act

<sup>61</sup> See mention of this game—which, with some modifications, became “la-crosse,” the national game of Canada—in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. x, 185-187 (played for sick), 197, 231, 326-328, vol. xiv, 47, vol. xv, 155, 179 (in memory of dead). — ED.



the part of conqueror; and that party which wins carries away what has been staked on the game.

Men, women, boys, and girls are received into the parties which are formed; and they bet against one another for larger or smaller amounts, each according to his means.

These games usually begin after the melting of the winter's ice, and last until seed-time. In the afternoon all the players may be seen, painted with vermilion and decked with ornaments. Each party has its leader, who makes an address, announcing to his players the hour that has been appointed for beginning the games. All assemble in a body, in the middle of the place [selected], and one of the leaders of the two parties, holding the ball in his hand, tosses it into the air. Each player undertakes to send it in the direction in which he must drive it; if it falls to the ground, he endeavors to draw it toward him with his crosse; and, if it is sent outside the crowd of players, the more alert distinguish themselves from the others by closely following it. You will hear the din that they make by striking one another, while they strive to ward off the blows in order to send the ball in a favorable direction. If one of them keeps it between his feet, without allowing it to escape, it is for him to avoid the blows that his adversaries rain incessantly upon his feet; and, if he happens to be wounded in this encounter, that is his own affair. Some of them are seen who [thus] have had their legs or arms broken, and some even have been killed. It is very common to see among them men crippled for the rest of their lives, and who were hurt in games of this sort only as the result of their own obstinacy.<sup>62</sup> When such accidents occur, the player

<sup>62</sup> "Wrong; neither arms nor legs were ever broken, still less were men killed." — ANON.

"Between the anonymous writer and Perrot, who spent forty years of his life

who is so unfortunate as to be hurt retires quietly from the game, if he is in a condition to walk; but, if his injuries will not permit this, his relatives convey him to the cabin, and the game always goes on as if nothing were the matter, until it is finished.

As for the runners, when the parties are equally strong they will sometimes spend an afternoon without either side gaining the advantage over the other; but sometimes, too, one of them will bear away the two victories which it must have in order to win the game. In this sport of racing, you would say that they looked like two opposing parties who meant to fight together. This exercise has much to do with rendering the savages agile, and ready to ward adroitly any blow from a club in the hands of an enemy, when they find themselves entangled in combat; and if one were not told beforehand that they were playing, one would certainly believe that they were fighting together in the open field.<sup>63</sup> [Whatever mishap this sport may occasion, they attribute it to the luck of the game, and they feel no hatred to one another. The trouble falls on the injured persons, who nevertheless put on as contented an aspect as if nothing had happened to them, thus making it appear that they have great courage, and are men.] The party that has won carries away what its members staked, and the profit that it has made, and that without any objection on either side when it is a question of paying [the bets], no matter what kind of game it may be. However, if any person who does not belong to the party, or who has not made any bet, should drive the ball to the advantage of one of the

in the midst of the savages, the reader will pronounce sentence. I only add that Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 319) applies to this game the epithet 'dangerous;' and that La Potherie, in describing its consequences (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 126, 127), borrows from Perrot the very sentences to which the anonymous writer objects. — TAILHAN.

<sup>63</sup> "Not so; it is easy to understand that they are playing." — ANON.

two parties, one of the players whom the blow does not favor would attack this man, demanding of him whether this were any of his business, and why he was meddling in it. They have often come to blows over this point, and if some chief did not reconcile them there would be bloodshed, and even some one would be killed. The best way to prevent this disorderly conduct is to begin the game over again, with the consent of those who are winning; for if they refuse to do so, the responsibility rests on them. But when some one of the influential men interposes, it is not difficult to adjust their dispute and induce them to conform to his decision.

## II. *The game of straws*

At the game of straws the savages lose not only all that they possess, but even that which belongs to their comrades. Here is an account of this game. They take for this sport a certain number of straws, or of the stems of a special plant, which is not so thick as the cord [used] for a salmon-net, and with these they make little sticks, all alike in length and thickness; the length is about eleven inches, and the number is uneven. After turning and mingling these in their hands, they lay them on a piece of skin or of blanket; and he who must begin the game, holding in his hand an awl (or more commonly a small pointed bone), makes contortions of his arms and body, continually saying *Chok! Chok!*—a word which has no meaning in their language, but which serves to make known his desire to play well and to be fortunate in the game. Then with this awl or small pointed bone he thrusts into some part of the [pile of] straws, and takes away a number of them as he pleases; his opponent takes those which remain on the cloth, and with inconceivable quickness counts them, by tens, without making



any mistake; then he who has the uneven number has made a lucky hit.

Sometimes they play with seeds which grow on the trees, which closely resemble little beans.<sup>64</sup> Each takes a certain number of these for [indicating] the value of the goods which he wishes to stake—that is, a gun, a blanket, or some other article. The player who at the beginning of the game finds that he has nine straws in his hand has won all, and draws what has been staked. If he finds that he has a number not even, below nine, it is in his power to double [the stakes?], and to honor the game with what suits him. For this purpose he lays down at any place in the game, as he chooses, one straw, and three, five, or seven [of them] on other spots; for the number nine, it is always taken for granted, predominates over all the others. In short, he who finds nine straws in his hand usually draws all that has been staked. Beside the straws which lie on the cloth are the seeds with which the players have honored the game; and you must note that they always place more of these on the nine than on all the others.

When the players have made their bets, he who has been lucky often takes the straws and turns them endwise in his hands, and then places them on the table, saying *Chank!* which means “nine;” and the other, who has the awl or the little bone in his hand, draws off [part of] the straws, in such place as he prefers, and takes as many of them as he pleases, as has been already stated, and the other takes the rest of them. If the last to take them

<sup>64</sup> The seeds thus used as counters may have been those of the honey locust (*Gleditschia triacanthos*), or of the Kentucky coffee-tree (*Gymnocladus dioica*).—A. B. STOUT, botanist, University of Wisconsin.

The Indians commonly use as dice, in the bowl-game, the flattish stones of the wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The Virginia Indians employed for this purpose the hard, flat seeds of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*).

—WM. R. GERARD.



prefers to leave them, his adversary is obliged to take them; and, each counting them by tens, he who has the uneven number has won, and takes whatever has been staked. But if it happens that the winner has only one straw more than the other man, he takes only those seeds which represent that straw. For example, the number three is greater than two, by one; five is superior to three, and seven to five; but nine surpasses all.

If several persons are playing and one of them finds five in his hand, they play four at a time, two against two, or fewer if they cannot make up the number of four players; one pair wins the seeds which stand for the five straws, and the other [the] seeds which are at stake for the three straws and for one. When any one has not in his hand the uneven number of those which remain on the cloth—that is, one and three—after they have carefully counted the straws by tens, when he has not the nine he is obliged to double what he has staked, even if he might have in his hand five or seven straws; and his play counts for nothing. He is obliged also to form two other piles of straws; in one he places five and in the other seven straws, with as many seeds as he pleases. When he has laid these on the cloth, his opponents in their turn prick off [straws], and then he takes those which are left; by that time there are some of the players who are lucky, nevertheless each one takes for himself only the seeds which are designated for the number of straws [which he has], and he who has nine takes only the seeds laid down for the nine straws. When another player draws away seven straws, he takes the rest; for three straws and for one it is all the same, but not for [numbers] higher than these.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> "Lafitau says (*Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 351) of this description by Perrot: 'I would gladly have inserted it here, but it is so obscure that it is almost unintelligible. No one of the other Canadian French whom I have met

It should be noted that, after they have lost the game which lies before them, they continue playing upon their promises [to pay], if the players declare that they [still] have possessions, even though these are not in their hands. But when one continues to be unlucky, the winner may refuse [to accept] seeds from the loser for the value which he requires from the latter, and may oblige him to go to find the goods themselves, refusing to play any longer until he sees these, nor can any retort to this be made. The loser will immediately tell one of his comrades to bring the goods to him, and if his ill-luck continues he will lose everything that he owns. One of his comrades then relieves him and takes his place, stating what he intends to risk on the game to the winner, who then accepts seeds for the value [of the bet].

This game lasts sometimes three or four days. When any one of the party who loses wins back all, and he who has hitherto been lucky in play comes to lose not only the profit which he had made but what of his own property he had staked, another of his comrades also takes his place, and everything goes on as before, until one of

has been able to give me an account of it; and all that I have been able to learn is, that after having divided these straws they take them into their hands with inconceivable dexterity; that the odd number is always lucky, and the number nine superior to all the others; that the division of the straws causes the game to run high or low, and doubles the stakes, according to the different numbers, until the game is won; and the contest is sometimes so spirited, when some of the villages are playing against the others, that it lasts two or three days. Although all passes peaceably, and with apparent good faith, there is nevertheless much cheating and sleight-of-hand in the game.' Like him, Charlevoix admits (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 318) that he had understood nothing in all the explanations of this game; and La Potherie acknowledges (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 23) that its mechanism is not easy to understand. I have not been more fortunate than my predecessors, and the game of straws remains for me an undecipherable enigma." — TAILHAN.

The above citations will serve to explain any obscurity which may appear in Perrot's text. It has been translated as accurately as is possible; but the present editor can claim no further illumination for its difficulties than the above-cited authorities possessed. — ED.

the two parties is entirely ruined. Thus the contest comes to an end among those people, it being a rule with the savages that they cannot quit the game until one side or the other has lost everything. It is for this reason that they cannot dispense with furnishing revenge to all those of a party, decisively, one after another, as I have just stated. In the game they have liberty to play on their own account, as they please; and if there happened to be a quarrel over this—I mean between the winners and the losers, each supported by those of his own party—they would come to blows, in which there would be bloodshed, and it would be very difficult to reconcile them. If the disposition of the winner is such as to be calm while he loses, and he feigns to overlook the many adroit tricks and the cheating which they very often practice in playing, he is praised and esteemed by every one; while he who has tried to cheat is blamed by every one, and there is no one who wishes to play with him, unless he ignominiously restores what he has unlawfully won.

This game of straws is usually held in the cabins of chiefs, which are large and are, so to speak, the academy of the savages; and there are seen all the young men, making up opposing sides, and the older men as spectators of their games. If the player fancies that he has had luck in picking off the straws, and that he has on his side the uneven number, holding them in one hand he strikes [the table] with the other; and when he has made the count of them by tens, without saying a word he makes it known by a sign that he has won, by taking for himself the seeds which have been staked, when he sees that he against whom he is playing has not as many of them. If one of the players tries to object that the straws could not have been correctly counted, they hand them over to two of the spectators to count them; and the one who has



really won always sweeps off his straws, without saying anything, and takes possession of the articles at stake. All of this passes without any dispute, and with great fairness. You will note that this game is not at all one for women, and that it is only the men who engage in it.

### III. *Game of dice*

The savages have also a certain game of dice, in which the dice-box is a wooden dish, quite round, empty, and very smooth on both sides. The dice are composed of six small flat bones, in shape closely resembling a plum-stone; these are quite smooth, with one of the sides colored black, red, green, or blue, and the other usually white, or of some other color than the former side. They place these dice in the dish, and, holding it by both sides, jerk it upward, causing the dice within to leap and bounce around. Then, having slammed the bottom of the dish against the table, while the dice are rolling about they immediately strike their own chests or shoulders with sharp blows, saying, "Dice! dice! dice!" until the dice stop moving. When five or six of these are found with the same color on the [upper] face, a player sweeps off the seeds which represent his agreement with the other party; if the loser and his comrades have nothing more to wager, the winning side takes all that is at stake. Entire villages have been known to wager each its entire wealth against another at this game, and to lose it all. They also present challenges;<sup>66</sup> and when one party happens to throw a pair-royal of six all the men

<sup>66</sup> "*Momon*, or *mommon*, a challenge given over a cast of dice. On the game of dice, or bowl, cf. *Relation* of 1636 (chap. ix), and that of 1639 (chap. viii); La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 22; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 339-342; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 260, 261. . . . If what Perrot says of the passion for gaming among these same savages, and the disorders which followed in its train, needed confirmation, it would be sufficient to read what is narrated of them in the *Relations* of 1636 (chap. ii and ix) and 1639 (chap. x)." — TAILHAN.



and women of the tribe that is backing them rise to their feet and dance, keeping time to the sound of the gourd rattles. The entire affair goes off without any dispute.

The girls and women play at this game, but they very often have eight dice, and do not use the dish for it, as the men do; they only lay down a blanket, and throw the dice on it with their hands.<sup>67</sup>

## XI. The usual food of the savages, and their hunting

### I. *The usual food of the savages*

The kinds of food which the savages like best, and which they make most effort to obtain, are the Indian corn, the kidney-bean, and the squash. If they are without these, they think that they are fasting, no matter what abundance of meat and fish they may have in their stores, the Indian corn being to them what bread is to Frenchmen. The Algonkins, however, and all the northern tribes, who do not cultivate the soil, do not lay up corn; but when it is given to them while they are out hunting they regard it as a [special] treat.

Those peoples commonly live only by hunting or fishing; they have moose, caribous, and bears, but the beaver is the most common of all their game. They consider themselves very fortunate in their hunting expeditions when they encounter some rabbits, martens, or partridges, from which to make a soup; and without what we call *tripe de roche*<sup>68</sup>—which you would say is a spe-

<sup>67</sup> On the game of dice (also called "of dish," or "of bowl"), see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. x, 185-187, 197, vol. xiv, 81, 285, vol. xv, 155, vol. xvii, 159, 201-205, 242. Gambling was a universal vice connected with all these games described by Perrot. — Ed.

<sup>68</sup> *Tripe de roche* is the Canadian term ("ironically given" — CLAPIN) for a species of edible lichen (*Umbilicaria dillenii*) growing on rocks; often mentioned by early explorers. The Jesuit André describes the method of cooking

cies of gray moss, dry, and resembling *oublies*;<sup>69</sup> and which of itself has only an earthy taste, and the flavor of the soup in which it is cooked—most of their families would perish of hunger. Some of these have been known who were compelled to eat their own children, and others whom starvation has entirely destroyed. For the northern country is the most sterile region in the world, since in many places one will not find a single bird to hunt; however, they gather there plenty of blueberries<sup>70</sup> in the months of August and September, which they are careful to dry and keep for a time of need.

The Chiripinons or Assiniboüalas sow in their marshes some wild oats,<sup>71</sup> which they harvest; but they can trans-  
it, and says, "It is necessary to close one's eyes when one begins to eat it" (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lv, 151). — ED.

<sup>69</sup> *Oublie*, one of the wafers used to stick papers together; it is evident that he compares *tripe de roche* to these wafers, as regards its nutritive value. It also resembles them in being gluey or gelatinous. This lichen (also called "famine bread") is used as food in the northern wilds only when people are absolutely starving, although it has some nutritive value. — CRAWFORD LINDSAY.

<sup>70</sup> *Bluet*: the well-known "blueberry" (*Vaccinium canadense*), which formed an important and valued article of food among the northern Indians. See La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 57; and *Jesuit Relations*, vol. xvi, 191, 258, 259, vol. xxxviii, 243, vol. xlvi, 165, vol. lix, 69, 71, 306, vol. lxxi, 373. — ED.

<sup>71</sup> "In this passage of our manuscript the words *Chiripinons ou* have been crossed out, and for them have been substituted, *Cristinaux, nation différente des Assiniboils*. Moreover, one reads on the margin the following annotation, 'The wild oats grows without sowing.' The manner of gathering this grain is described by Father Marquette, in the relation of his voyages and discoveries. — TAILHAN.

This "wild oats" refers to the grain known as wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*), which grows in marshes and shallow streams and lakes from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic, and from latitude 52° to the Gulf states; it is especially abundant in Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota. Its Algonquian name is *manó min*, meaning "good berry;" and there are many other names—Indian, English, and French—extant for this well-known grain. The Menomini tribe, found on the shore of Green Bay by Nicollet in 1634, have always been known as the "Wild-rice Indians," which is simply the translation of their own name, *Omanominewak*—called by the French writers *Malhominis*, *Maloumines*, etc. The wild rice is claimed to be even more nutritious than any of our cereal grains, including even maize. The only full and thorough account of it yet published is A. E. Jenks's "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in 19th Report of the Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 1011-1160: therein are given the

port this grain to their homes only in the season of navigation. As their canoes are very small, and heavily loaded with their children and the produce of their hunting, they have very often been reduced almost to starvation on account of being too far distant from their *caches*\* and their own country,

## II. *The manner in which the northern tribes hunt the beaver*

The peoples of the north hunt for beaver in the winter, with an ice-chisel [*tranche*] and a snare made of cords of hide. They begin by breaking a hole in the lodge into

history, description, habitat, and uses of this grain; the Indian tribes using it; methods of cultivating, harvesting, and cooking it; etc. The author says (p. 1019) of this study: "It has thrown light upon the almost constant warfare between the Dakota and Ojibwa Indians for two hundred and fifty years. It has shed light also upon the fur trade in a territory unexcelled in the richness of its furs, yet almost inaccessible had it not been for the wild rice which furnished such nourishing and wholesome support to the traders and hunters." See also the excellent paper of Gardner P. Stickney, "Indian Use of Wild Rice," in *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. ix, 115-121. It appears that some efforts have been made to introduce wild rice into the market, as a cereal for American consumption; but these were unsuccessful, on account of the general (and somewhat foolish) prejudice against grains lacking in whiteness — the wild rice being green or almost black in color. — Ed.

\* "The storage of articles and supplies appears to have been quite general throughout America, and the practice of caching, or hiding, things not less so. The extent of this custom indicates its ancient origin, a belief strengthened by the discovery of large deposits of articles of stone which in many cases show partial disintegration and other indications of great age. . . . The season, the temperature, the locality, and the time required to make a cache were important considerations. Some things, when time allowed, were sewed in skins and suspended on trees or hidden in hollow tree trunks; others were buried under shelving rocks or in carefully prepared holes in the ground. Owing to seasonal journeys of large numbers of persons in search of food or other supplies, many things had to be left behind which, because of their weight or bulk, would add to the difficulty of movement. Caching was resorted to in order to prevent the hidden things from being disturbed by wild beasts, stones often being piled over the cache; or, when the deposit was of food or clothing, fires were built in order that the ashes should hide surface indications and thus keep enemies from disturbing the deposit; or, in other cases, the sod was carefully removed and replaced after the cache was completed; or, if the land was sandy,



which this animal goes for refuge; and they break down the dams<sup>72</sup> which it has been careful to build in order to retain the water in the marsh. After they have thus drained away the water during the night, the savages lay their snare, which is made like a pouch, as large as the place through which the beaver must necessarily pass, for there is no other—the ice, and the dams which the animal made in the autumn, no longer permitting it to ascend or descend the stream. The animal is therefore constrained to abandon its dwelling, or to repair the breach which has already been made in its wall; for this snare, as has been stated, occupies the passageway,<sup>73</sup> and its shape is like that of a purse, with a cord in its end which is drawn together to close the snare. The beaver, then attempting to descend to the bottom of the water, enters this snare that is stretched for it; and the man who is stationed upon the ice, perceiving [by the motion of the net] that it is captured, draws in the net, and breaks the animal's head. They always secure it in the same way; and such is the manner in which the beavers are killed. If the bank of the swamp were not steep and were on a level with the water, it would be much easier to destroy them; for then it would only be necessary to

water was poured over the surface to conceal indications of the ground having been disturbed. The term *cache* has been adopted from the French *cache*, 'to hide,' and has been very generally adopted by the whites, who have not been slow to accept and practice this primitive method of hiding things intended to be reclaimed."—J. D. MCGUIRE, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Storage and caching."

<sup>72</sup> "They break open the lodge, and not the dam, for the net, but especially when they wish to trap the animal in the places where he is accustomed to go."—ANON.

<sup>73</sup> "Wrong; this net is not stretched in the passage to the water, but in the place through which the beaver must pass to come to his lodge when he is hunted in other places. It is also stretched at the entrance to a place to which they know the animal has gone to hide itself, and where a barrier has been made with stakes driven into the ice; in this barrier is left an opening, in which the net is stretched."—ANON.



break into their lodges to compel the animals to come out from them.

The noise which the hunters make by sharply striking the handles of their tools [upon the ice] enables the beavers<sup>74</sup> [*sc.* hunters?] to recognize by the variations in the sound that there are cavities under the ice; and the animals try to take refuge in these in order to regain their breath, for the fright which has been given them has greatly harassed them. After they have rested there for some time, they try to return to their dwellings or to reach some other place of safety; then all the hunters observe entire silence, and quit making a noise, but they continue to walk about very cautiously, with sharp sticks in their hands, looking for the places where they see the water in motion, because they think that the beaver may be there. They immediately close the entrance to its hole, and knowing, by the sticks which it tries to force aside, the moment when it tries to leave the hole, they immediately spear it with a sharp blade fastened to the end of a stake.<sup>75</sup>

### III. *Chase of the caribou, moose, and other animals*

Hunting the caribous is usually practiced on the great flat plains [*savanes*];<sup>76</sup> and at the outset they surround

<sup>74</sup> "Wrong." — ANON.

"It is really to the hunters, not to the beavers, that the resonance of the tool-handle [struck] against the ice indicates the cavities in which the animals have gone to seek refuge; moreover, I am much inclined to believe that the copyist has by mistake substituted here the word *castors* for *chasseurs* which was found in the original." — TAILHAN.

<sup>75</sup> "The beaver is never speared in the winter; it is seized by the hand through a hole that has been made in the ice — through which the hunter knows that the beaver is near, by the motion which it causes in the water." — ANON.

In the *Relation* of 1634 (chap. ix) is "a more complete and especially a more intelligible description of the beaver-hunt;" cf. La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. i, 134. — TAILHAN.

<sup>76</sup> "All these savages . . . are known in the French relations by the

the game with trees and poles planted at intervals, in which they stretch snares of rawhide, which enclose a narrow passage purposely left. When all these snares have been prepared, they go far away, marching abreast and uttering loud yells; this unusual noise frightens the animals and drives them to flight on every side; no longer knowing which way to go, they encounter this obstruction which has been made ready in their course. Not being able to clear it, they are compelled to follow it until they reach the passage in which the snares are laid with running knots, which seize them by the neck. It is in vain that they strive to escape; rather, they tear up the stakes [of the snare] and drag these with them as far as the larger trees; in short, their utmost efforts to extricate themselves only serve to strangle them more quickly.<sup>77</sup>

The moose are hunted in about the same manner, especially when the savages are in a region where these animals are numerous; or else they endeavor to take them by surprise and kill them with guns or arrows. But in the winter, when the snows are deep, they have sharp blades on long handles for killing the moose by coursing them. On the other hand, the elk can be captured only with a snare.<sup>78</sup>

The Kiristinons,<sup>79</sup> who often frequent the region along generic name of Savanois [i.e., Meadow people], because the country that they inhabit is low, swampy, thinly wooded; and because in Canada those wet lands that are good for nothing are called Savanes" (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 181). — TAILHAN.

<sup>77</sup> See Champlain's description of this sort of hunting, in *Voyages*, page 266; it is more clear and easily understood than Perrot's. See also Charlevoix's *Histoire*, vol. iii, 128, 129. — TAILHAN.

<sup>78</sup> For description of elk-hunting by the savages, see *Relation* of 1634, chap. ix. — TAILHAN.

<sup>79</sup> The Cree, a name "contracted from Kristinaux, French form of *Kenistenoag*, given as one of their own names: an important Algonquian tribe of British America whose former habitat was in Manitoba and Assiniboia, between Red

the shores of Lake Superior and the great rivers, where moose are more commonly found, have another method of hunting them. First, they embark on the water, two men in each canoe, and keep at a certain distance from one another; their dogs are on the land, and enter a little distance into the depths of the forest to seek their game. As soon as the dogs have found the trail; they never quit it until they have found the moose; and the wonderful instinct which they possess of remembering in what place their masters are leads them to drive on the game directly to that quarter, continually pursuing them until the moose are constrained to dash into the water. The savages, who are [now] on the shore listening intently for the barking of their dogs, at once enter their canoes [again], and attack and slay the moose.

The marten [skins] that are most valued and handsome are those from the north; the fur on them is more

and Saskatchewan Rivers. . . A portion of the Cree, as appears from the tradition given by Lacombe (*Dict. Lang. Cris*), inhabited for a time the region about Red River, intermingled with the Chippewa and Maskegon, but were attracted to the plains by the buffalo, the Cree like the Chippewa being essentially a forest people. Many bands of Cree were virtually nomads, their movements being governed largely by the food supply. The Cree are closely related, linguistically and otherwise, to the Chippewa. . . At some comparatively recent time the Assiniboin, a branch of the Sioux, in consequence of a quarrel broke away from their brethren and sought alliance with the Cree. The latter received them cordially and granted them a home in their territory, thereby forming friendly relations that have continued to the present day. The united tribes attacked and drove southwestward the Siksika and allied tribes who formerly dwelt along the Saskatchewan. The enmity between these tribes and both the Siksika and the Sioux has ever since continued." The history of the Cree, who have always been friendly to both the French and the English, "consists almost wholly of their contests with neighboring tribes and their relations with the Hudson Bay Company. . . In more recent years, since game has become scarce, they have lived chiefly in scattered bands, depending largely on trade with the agents of the Hudson Bay Co. At present they are gathered chiefly in bands on various reserves in Manitoba, mostly with the Chippewa." Their numbers were greatly reduced by smallpox in 1786 and 1838; in 1776 the Cree proper were estimated at about 15,000. "There are now about 10,000 in Manitoba (7,000 under agencies), and about 5,000 roving in Northwest Territory; total, 15,000." — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



black than brown; and the trade in these is one of the best carried on in that country.

The savages called *Saulteurs*<sup>80</sup> are at the south of Lake Superior, and hunt the beaver and the moose. They also go fishing, and catch excellent fish; and they harvest some Indian corn, although not in so great quantity as do the tribes on the shores of Lake Huron, who live in open or prairie country. Martens are found there, and even if the caribou is not seen there they have by way of compensation many other animals in abundance, which they kill with great ease. Moreover, they have for neighbors and friends the Sioux, on whose lands they hunt, when they wish, buffaloes, elk, and deer,<sup>81</sup> and

<sup>80</sup> The *Relation* of 1670 thus describes (chap. x) the Sault de Sainte-Marie [i.e., the rapids of St. Mary's River; popularly known as "the Soo"]: "What is commonly known as the Sault is not, properly speaking, a descent or fall of water from a considerable height; but it is an exceedingly violent current of the waters from Lake Superior, which being checked by a great number of rocks that dispute their passage, form a dangerous cascade, half a league broad — all those waters descending, and precipitating themselves one upon another, as if on a staircase, over the great rocks that obstruct the river. This place is three leagues below Lake Superior, and twelve leagues above the lake of the Hurons — all this distance forming a beautiful river, divided by many islands. . . The earliest and native inhabitants of this place are those who call themselves *Pahouitingonach* . . . whom the French call *Saulteurs*, because it is these people who live at the Sault as in their own country, the other tribes being there only by loan, as it were."

"The *Sauteurs* of to-day apply to themselves no other name than that of *Odgiboweke* (Otjibwek, Odjibewais), from which the English have called them *Chippewais*. These peoples of Algonquin stock have almost entirely abandoned their ancient dwelling at Saut-Sainte Marie. They form the most numerous part of the savage population dispersed through the vast British possessions of the Northwest, and dwell not far from the line that separates those possessions from the American territory. Their lives are spent in waging war against the Sioux, their neighbors on the south, in hunting the bison, and most of all in exploiting the liberality of the *Bois-Brûlés* of the Red River (who are Canadian-Sauteur mixed-bloods). The tribe of *Sauteurs*, wrote in 1851 a missionary to those regions (*Rapport sur les missions du diocèse de Québec*, no. 9, 111; Québec), 'is in general the most slothful and mendicant people whom I know. They are the scourge of the mixed-bloods, who are industrious in hunting, and courageous in enduring its fatigues; so the *Sauteurs* beset them, in order to live almost exclusively at their expense.' " — TAILHAN.

<sup>81</sup> French, *cerfs*, *biches*, *chevreuils*; and in the sentence at the beginning of



other game, which they take by surprise with the discharge of guns and arrows. —

There are yet other tribes along Lakes Huron and Illinois who possess lands sufficiently cleared to obtain from them all the grain that they can need, and who live in great comfort with [this and] the produce of their fishing; but when they wish to go to hunt beaver or any other animal they are compelled to go to a great distance. The seasons which they usually take for hunting are the autumn and winter, because at that time the pelts of the animals are better than at others. For capturing these they use snares, in which for bait there is a branch of a tree which they call "the trembling tree;"<sup>82</sup> the animals are very fond of this, and in trying to reach the inner end of the snare, where the bait is placed, they step upon a trigger, which lets fall a heavy weight on the animal's back and kills it.

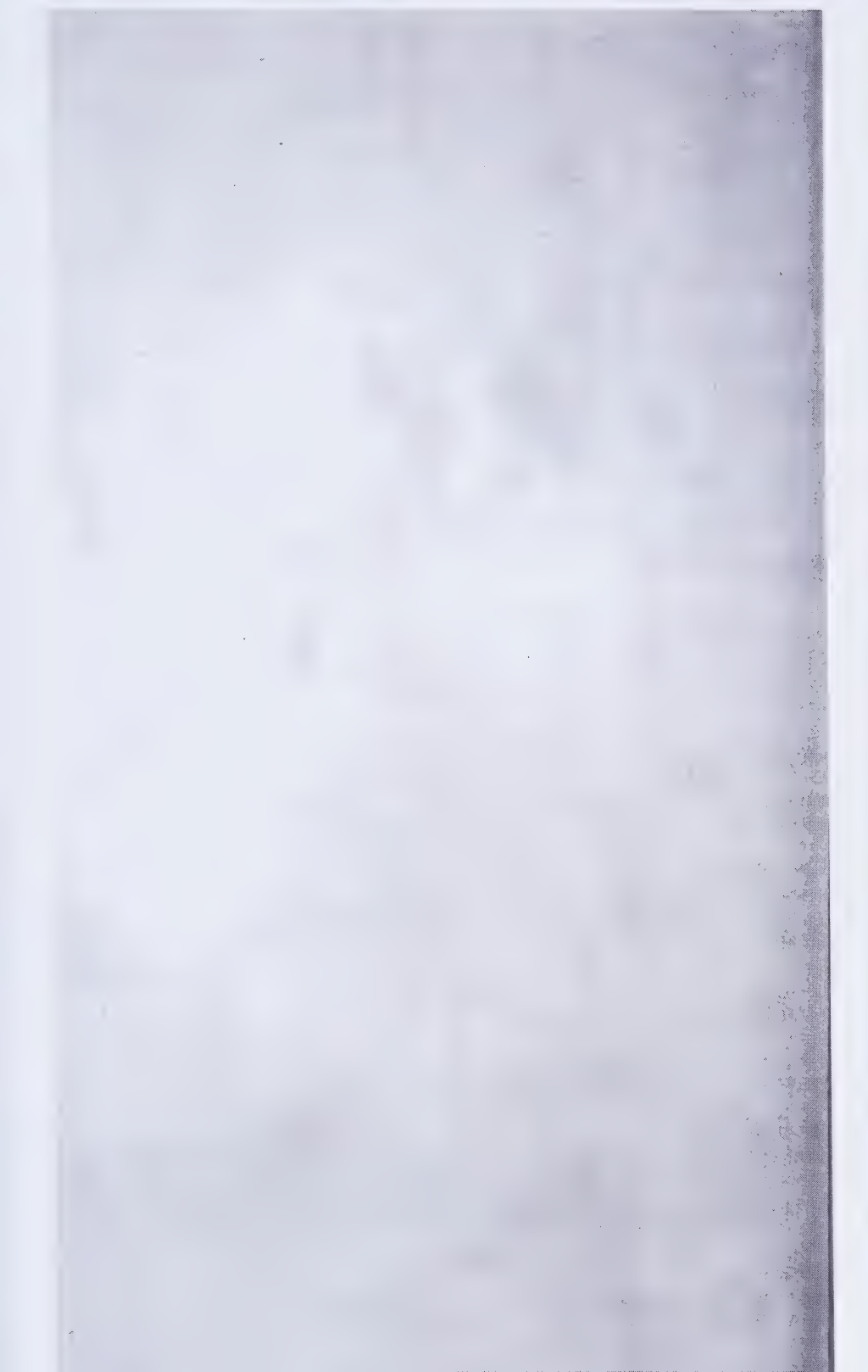
They hunt all the other beasts with guns, although they have also arrows, but they are not so skilful in using these weapons as are the people of the north and of the prairies, because the use of firearms is not so general among them as in those tribes; and because in the distant regions to which they are accustomed to go for

this paragraph is mentioned (as in many other places) the *élan*. There is some confusion in various writers in the use of these words and of their English equivalents, and sometimes it is difficult to identify them precisely. On the authority of Crawford Lindsay and C. Hart Merriam (late chief of U.S. Biological Survey), I have regularly translated *cerf* as "elk" (*Cervus canadensis*, or *C. wapiti*; also called "wapiti"); *élan* as "moose" (*C. alces*, or *Alces americanus*; also called "moose deer"); *chevreuil* as "deer" (*Odocoileus virginianus*, or *Cervus virginianus*; the red or Virginia deer). The caribou (*C. tarandus*, or *Tarandus hastalis*) is allied to the reindeer. These four apparently include all the species of *Cervus* in Canada and the northern United States east of the Rocky Mts. The name *biche*, as found in dictionaries, seems to mean the doe of the red deer; but J. D. Caton says, in *Antelope and Deer of America* (N.Y., 1881, second edition) that the elk or wapiti (presumably the female) is called *la biche* by the Canadian French. — ED.

<sup>82</sup> The American (or "quaking") aspen or poplar (*Aspen* — or *Populus* — *tremuloides*), called *bois blanc* ("whitewood") by the French Canadians. — ED.



RAPIDS OF ST. MARY'S RIVER



hunting there are bears, elk, deer, wild-cats, beaver, some *pekans*,<sup>83</sup> and otters. If they go to the west or toward the south they find there buffalo but few moose,<sup>84</sup> for of all the animals which I have just enumerated few live where there are moose; and for this reason the savages run great risk of fasting at times. Martens are also very common there; and when the beaver cannot supply the deficiency of moose, they are exposed, when there is so little snow that they are prevented from running down the moose, to famine—all the more certain because it is very difficult to overcome those animals by surprise.

#### IV. *Natural productions of the prairies; game and wild beasts that are encountered there*

The savage peoples who inhabit the prairies have lifelong good-fortune; animals and birds are found there in great numbers, with numberless rivers abounding in fish. Those people are naturally very industrious, and devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, which is very fertile for Indian corn. It produces also beans, squashes (both small and large) of excellent flavor, fruits, and many kinds of roots. They have in especial a certain method of preparing squashes with the Indian corn cooked while in its milk, which they mix and cook together and then dry, [a food] which has a very sweet taste. Finally, melons grow there which have a juice no less agreeable than refreshing,

The various kinds of animals that the country fur-

<sup>83</sup> *Pekan*: a French-Canadian name for the animal called "fisher," "black fox," and "black (or wild) cat" (*Mustela pennanti*); its fur was esteemed by Europeans. — Ed.

<sup>84</sup> "This entire passage is not very clear. I think that Perrot meant to say that the savages of Lake Huron and the Lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan) hunt not only the beaver, but also 'all the other beasts,' because 'in the distant hunting expeditions on which they are accustomed to go, there are bears, moose,' etc." — TAILHAN.



nishes are: buffaloes, elk, bears, lynxes, raccoons, and panthers,<sup>85</sup> whose flesh is very good for food. There are also beavers, and black and gray wolves, whose skins serve as their garments; and still other animals which also they use for food. The birds or fowls of the rivers and swamps are: swans,<sup>86</sup> bustards, wild geese, and ducks of all kinds. Pelicans are very common, but they have an oily flavor, whether alive or dead, which is so disagreeable that it is impossible to eat them.

The land birds are: turkeys, pheasants, quails, pigeons, and curlew<sup>87</sup> like large hens, of excellent flavor. In that region are found still other birds, especially innumerable cranes. The people of that country generally use guns and bows in hunting; and in the marshes they drain them, and use the ice-chisel.

Toward the north, the animals all have very rich fur; but as one goes southward, where the winter does not last long, as soon as it is over the furs cease to be as valuable.

<sup>85</sup> *Tygres*: referring to the panther or cougar (*Felis cougar*). The name "catamount" is a nuisance, being used differently by various authors, sometimes being applied to the panther or cougar, sometimes to the Canada lynx (*Lynx canadensis*; French, *chat cervier*). It should be restricted to the panther.

— C. HART MERRIAM, late chief of U.S. Biological Survey.

<sup>86</sup> Of the swan (*Cygnus*, or *Olor*), two species were commonly found in the northern and central states: *C. americanus* (or *ferus*), the American or whistling swan; and *C. buccinator*, the trumpeter swan. The American white pelican (*Pelecanus erythrorhyncus*) is described in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lv, 197, 199, 321. The wild goose (*Anser anser*) is said to be the wild stock of the domesticated goose — Leonhard Stejneger, in *Riverside Natural History* (Boston, 1884). The name *outarde* (English, "bustard") was given by the French Canadians to the Canada goose (*Anser*, or *Branta, canadensis*). All of these wild water-birds, which formerly abounded in the United States and Canada, are now rare or unknown in the long-settled eastern regions, and are found in abundance only in remote parts of the west and north where settlements are yet few and scattered. — ED.

<sup>87</sup> "There exist in Canada and the United States two species of curlew [*corbigeaux ou courlis*]: the long-beaked curlew (*Numenius longirostris*, Aud.) and the northern curlew (*Numenius hudsonicus*, Aud.). What Perrot says of the prairie curlew may be understood of one as well as of the other. Cf. J. M. Lemoine's *Ornithologie du Canada*, 356, 357 (Québec, 1861, second edition)."

— TAILHAN.

In that region the heat is as great as in the islands of the south or in Provence; and it is a country abounding in parroquets. But if we push into the north, as far as the entrance to Ouisconching [i.e., Wisconsin River], the winter there is extremely cold and long. That is where the beaver-skins are the best, and where hunting lasts for a longer time in the year.

The savages have in their country various kinds of roots. That which they call [blank in text], meaning "bear's root,"<sup>88</sup> is an actual poison if it is eaten raw; but they cut it in very thin slices, and cook it in an oven\* during three days and nights; thus by heat they cause the acrid substance which renders it poisonous to evaporate in steam, and it then becomes what is commonly called cassava root.

Also in winter they dig from under the ice, or where there is much mud and little water, a certain root, of better quality than that which I have just mentioned; but it is only found in the Louisiana country, some fifteen leagues above the entrance to the Ouisconching. The savages call this root, in their own language, *poke-*

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<sup>88</sup> *Racine de Pours*: This, from Perrot's description, was the "Indian turnip" (*Arisæma triphyllum*), the crown of which is very acrid when fresh, but loses this quality when boiled or roasted, in which state it was sometimes eaten by the Indians. It yields one-fourth of its weight of a pure amylaceous matter, like starch, arrowroot, or cassava. If the French name is a translation of the Indian, the corm may be the *makopin*, or "bear-root," of the Ojibwa.

— WILLIAM R. GERARD, New York City.

\* "The pit oven, consisting of a hole excavated in the ground, heated with fire, and then filled with food which was covered over and allowed to cook, was general in America, though as a rule it was employed only occasionally, and principally for cooking vegetal substances. This method was found necessary to render acrid or poisonous foods harmless and starchy foods saccharine, and as a preliminary in drying and preserving food for winter use. Rude camp devices, such as baking in a cavity in the ashes, sometimes incasing in clay the substance to be cooked, were in common use; simple pit ovens, charged according to a definite plan, and ovens with a draft hole, the latter occurring among the Pueblos, comprise the varieties of this invention in northern America." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

✶ *koretch*; <sup>89</sup> and the French give it no other name, because nothing at all resembling it is seen in Europe. It has the appearance of a root, about half as thick as one's arm, or a little more; it also has firm flesh, and externally resembles an arm; in one word, you would say at sight of these roots, that they are certainly great radishes. But cut it across the two ends, and it is no longer the same thing; for you find inside it a cavity in the middle, extending throughout its length, around which are five or six other and smaller cavities, which also run from end to end. To eat it, you must cook it over a brazier, and you will find that it tastes like chestnuts. The savages are accustomed to make provision of this root; they cut it into pieces and string them on a cord, in order to dry them in the smoke. When these pieces are thoroughly dry, and hard as wood, they put them into bags, and keep them as long as they wish. If they boil their meat in a kettle, they also cook therein this root, which thus becomes soft; and, when they wish to eat, it answers for bread with their meat. It is always better with consid-

<sup>89</sup> This was the rhizome of *Nelumbo lutea*, called by the Oto and Quapaw *tarowa* and *taluwa* ("hollow root"), and by the Ojibwa tribes *wāgipin* or *war-gipin* ("crooked root"). Both the rhizome and the seeds ("water chinkapins") are used as food by the Indians wherever the plant grows. — WM. R. GERARD.

Several clumps of *Nelumbo* lately grew (and may be still present) in Rice Lake and Mud Lake, two small isolated lakes west of Lake Koshkonong, Wis. They were there when the earliest settlers of that locality arrived, and are supposed to have been introduced by Indians, although no one knows when or by what tribe; and botanical works state that the plant was introduced in that region by Indians, although no actual proof of this is adduced.

— ARLOW B. STOUT, Univ. of Wisconsin.

"The *Pokékoretech* of Perrot is without any doubt the *Nelumbium luteum*, an aquatic plant with a cylindrical and fleshy root; its flower measures from 6 to 20 pouces [the pouce = 1½ inches], in diameter, and floats on the surface of the water. Both the roots and the seeds are eaten; the latter are of the size of a hazelnut, and have the taste of the chestnut; they are much sought by the savages.' I owe this note and the two following to the courtesy of Monsieur [Ovide] Brunet, professor of botany in Laval University, Québec. This plant may be one described by Father Marquette in his *Récit des voyages*, section vii." — TAILHAN.



erable grease; for although this root is very sweet and has a good flavor, it sticks to the throat in swallowing and goes down with difficulty, because it is very dry. The women gather this root, and recognize it by the dried stem, which appears sticking up above the ice. The shape [of the flower] is like a crown, of red color; it is as large as the bottom of a plate, and is full of seeds in every way resembling hazelnuts; and when these are roasted under hot cinders they taste just like chestnuts.

That country also produces potatoes; some are as large as an egg, others have the size of one's fist, or a little more. They boil these in water by a slow fire during twenty-four hours; when they are thoroughly cooked, you will find in them an excellent flavor, much resembling that of prunes—which are cooked in the same way in France, to be served with dessert.<sup>90</sup>

The tribes of the prairies also find in certain places lands that are fertile, and kept moist by the streams that water them, whereon grow onions of the size of one's thumb. The root is like a leek, and the plant which grows from it resembles the salsify. This onion, I say, is so exceedingly acrid that, if one tried to swallow it, it would all at once wither the tongue, the throat, and the inside of the mouth; I do not know, however, whether it would have the same injurious effect on the inside of the body. But this difficulty hardly ever occurs, for as

<sup>90</sup> This was the so-called "Indian potato" (*Apios tuberosa*).

— WM. R. GERARD.

There is no true potato native in Wisconsin; but *Solanum jamesii* is found west of the Rockies. The plant alluded to is probably *Apios tuberosa*.

— A. B. STOUT.

"The potato [*pomme de terre*] which is here mentioned is no other than the *Psoralea esculenta*, a plant of the leguminous family, which abounds in the elevated plains of the Missouri, and on the hills in the vicinity of Saint Louis. The Canadian voyageurs called it 'prairie apple' or 'turnip' [*pomme ou navet de prairie*]. The savages always boil it before eating it, although this root has not a disagreeable taste even when raw." — BRUNET (cited by Tailhan).



soon as one takes it into the mouth he spits it out; and one imagines that it is a certain wild garlic, which is quite common in the same places, and has also an insupportable acridness.<sup>91</sup>

When the savages lay in a store of these onions, with which the ground is covered, they first build an oven, upon which they place the onions, covering them with a thick layer of grass; and by means of the heat which the fire communicates to them the acrid quality leaves them, nor are they damaged by the flames; and after they have been dried in the sun they become an excellent article of food. Their abundance, however, counts for nothing, although the agreeable taste which one finds in them often induces him to satisfy his appetite with them; for nothing in the world is more indigestible and more [*sc.* less?] nourishing. You feel a load on your chest, your belly as hard as a drum, and colic pains which last two or three days. When one is forewarned of this effect, he refrains from eating much of this root. I speak from experience, having been taken unawares by it; and after the distress which I experienced from it I have no longer any desire to taste it.

The prairies inhabited by the Illinois produce various fruits, such as medlars, large mulberries, plums, and abundance of nuts, as in France; and many other fruits.<sup>92</sup> As for the nuts, some are found as large as a hen['s egg],

<sup>91</sup> Several species of *Allium* are found wild in the West — *A. triocum*, or wild leek; *A. cernum*, wild onion; *A. canadense*, wild garlic. The second of these may have been the one described in the text. — ARLOW B. STOUT.

"The data (too slight) which end the two preceding paragraphs, on the specific characteristics of the 'onion' of Perrot incline me to believe that he refers to a species of *Allium*, probably *A. canadense*. The Cherokees, who are neighbors of the Illinois, very willingly use it as food." — BRUNET (cited by Tailhan).

This was probably the common wild garlic (*Allium canadense*). Plants of the genus *Allium* found but little favor with the Indians as articles of food.

— WM. R. GERARD.

<sup>92</sup> In regard to the natural productions of the prairies, cf. Father Marquette's

which are so bitter and oily that they are good for nothing for eating. There are also strawberries in abundance, raspberries, and potatoes. But the people further north, as far up as Ouisconching, have no longer these medlars, and those who are still farther away are without these nuts like those of France; with these exceptions, they have all the other fruits of which mention has just been made.

### V. *Hunting the buffalo*

I have already remarked that the savages of the prairies live in a happy land, on account of the great numbers of animals of all kinds that they have about them, and the grains, fruits, and roots which the soil there produces in abundance; but I have said nothing of the customs which they practice in their hunting expeditions or of the manner in which they pursue the chase, especially that of the buffalo.

The savages set out in the autumn, after they have gathered the harvest, to go hunting; and they do not return to their villages until the month of March, in order to plant the grain on their lands. As soon as this is done, they go hunting again, and do not return until the month of July, which is the time when the rutting season of the buffalo begins.

description of them, in *Récit des voyages*, section vii. He there mentions a sort of nut, which seems to be similar to this nut of which Perrot speaks; but the latter says that it is worthless for eating, while Marquette says that it is very good when ripe — which may be “purely a matter of taste.” Other information regarding those fruits, etc., may be found in a letter by Father Gabriel Marest, in *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 327. — TAILHAN.

*Mesles* was the old French name for the fruit of the medlar, a tree not found in this country. Perhaps the fruit here mentioned by Perrot was the persimmon, which Capt. John Smith likened to a medlar. The nut mentioned by Perrot was possibly that of *Carya porcina* (the “pig-nut”), which attains a length of two inches; it is oily, and sweet at the first taste. The “bitter-nut” (*C. amara*; name applied also to *C. cordiformis*) is barely an inch long. — WM. R. GERARD.

The people of an entire village go together to this hunting, and, if there are not enough of them, they unite with those of another village, and that for two reasons: the first, in order to defend themselves against the attacks which their enemies might make against them; and the other, that thus they may be able to drive in a greater number of animals.

They assemble at nightfall on the eve of their departure, and choose among their number the man whom they consider most capable of being the director of the expedition. This is usually one of the more prominent war chiefs; he takes for adjutants all the other chiefs, and agrees with them on all the rules that should be laid down for the procedure that they must observe in order to hunt the buffaloes.

On the same day, one of the leading men makes a harangue before all the assembly, in which he makes known the orders that have been issued in regard to the limits which shall be observed in this hunt, and the punishments ordained for those persons who overstep them. He declares that these orders provide for depriving the disobedient of their weapons, breaking their bows and arrows, tearing down their cabins, and plundering them of property found therein; and this law is inexorable among them. The reason which obliges them to employ so much severity and strictness against those who fail to obey the rule is, that if any of them during the hunt were to pass beyond the prescribed limits all the game would escape them by flight, and the village would be in danger of perishing from hunger. All the chiefs are generally subject to this law; and even if he who is [appointed] over all the rest should commit this fault, he would be punished with the same rigor as any other man, without regard to his authority. In case he re-



fused to submit to it, all the young men—who are, so to speak, his prop—would unite against him, and lay violent hands on all persons who should come forward to take his part.

This headman of the chiefs, with his adjutants, forms the necessary detachments to go out scouting on the [various] routes; and if these men suspect that there is any danger for their people they come back over their path in order to cover their tracks and to prevent any attack by the enemy.

When the village has a large number of young men able to bear arms they divide these into three bodies: one takes its route to the right, another that to the left, and half of the third party is divided between the two former ones. One of these latter parties goes away [from its main column] a league or thereabout to the right, and the other remains on the left, both parties forming, each on its own side, a long file; then they set out, in single file, and continue their march until they judge that their line of men is sufficiently long for them to advance into the depths [of the forest]. As they begin their march at midnight, one of the parties waits until dawn, while the others pursue their way; and after they have marched a league or more another party waits again for daylight; the rest march [until] after another half-league has been covered, and likewise wait. When the day has at last begun, this third party which had separated to the right and the left with the two others pushes its way farther; and as soon as the rising sun has dried off the dew on the ground, the parties on the right and the left, being in sight of each other, come together in [one] file, and close up the end of the circuit which they intend to surround.

They commence at once by setting fire to the dried herbage which is abundant in those prairies; those who



occupy the flanks do the same; and at that moment the entire village breaks camp, with all the old men and young boys—who divide themselves equally on both sides, move away to a distance, and keep the hunting parties in sight so that they can act with the latter, so that the fires can be lighted on all four sides at once and gradually communicate the flames from one to another. That produces the same effect to the sight as four ranks of palisades, in which the buffaloes are enclosed. When the savages see that the animals are trying to get outside of it, in order to escape the fires which surround them on all sides (and this is the one thing in the world which they most fear), they run at them and compel them to reënter the enclosure; and they avail themselves of this method to kill all the beasts. It is asserted that there are some villages which have secured as many as fifteen hundred buffaloes, and others more or fewer, according to the number of men in each and the size of the enclosure which they make in their hunting.<sup>93</sup> For that country is nothing but plains, except only some small islands, to

<sup>93</sup> "Remains of the early species of the bison are found from Alaska to Georgia, but the range of the present type (*Bison americanus*) was chiefly between the Rocky and Allegheny Mountains." The first authentic account of this animal was that of Cabeza de Vaca, who saw the bison on the plains of Texas (ca. 1530). At that time the herds ranged from northern Mexico northward from the Rio Grande to British Columbia, through the valleys of the Saskatchewan and Red Rivers, thence (to the west of Lakes Winnipeg and Superior, and south of Lakes Michigan and Erie) to the vicinity of Niagara, thence southward through the western portion of the Atlantic Southern States, and into northern Mississippi and Louisiana. All the tribes within this range depended largely on the buffalo for food and clothing, and this dependence, with the influence of the habits of the animal, profoundly affected tribal customs and religious rites. This is more clearly seen in the tribes west of the Mississippi, where the people were in constant contact with the buffalo during the summer and winter migrations of the great northern and southern herds. These great herds were composed of innumerable smaller ones of a few thousand each, for the buffalo was never solitary except by accident. This habit affected the manner of hunting and led to the organization of hunting parties under a leader and to the establishment of rules to insure an equal chance to every member of

which they are accustomed to go and encamp for the purpose of drying their store of meat.

The elk and the deer are quite often caught in these circles of fire, but make their escape; and the savages

the party. . . The annual summer hunting party generally consisted of the entire tribe. As the main supply of meats and pelts was to be obtained, religious rites were observed throughout the time," with severe penalties for disobedience of prescribed rules. This tribal or ceremonial hunt occurred in the summer months, "when the animals were fat and their hair thin, the flesh being then in the best condition for food and the pelts easiest to dress on both sides for the making of clothing, shields, packs, bags, ropes, snowshoes, tent, and boat covers. The meat was cut into thin sheets and strips and hung upon a framework of poles to dry in the sun. When fully 'jerked' it was folded up and put into parfleche packs to keep for winter use. A cow was estimated to yield about forty-five pounds of dried meat and fifty pounds of pemmican, besides the marrow, which was preserved in bladder skins, and the tallow, which was poured into skin bags." The sinews, horns, and hair of the animal were used in various ways, and even its dried excrements supplied fuel to the dwellers on the treeless plains. "The buffalo was supposed to be the instructor of doctors who dealt with the treatment of wounds, teaching them in dreams where to find healing plants and the manner of their use. The multifarious benefits derived from the animal brought the buffalo into close touch with the people: it figured as a gentile totem, its appearance and movements were referred to in gentile names, its habits gave designations to the months, and it became the symbol of the leader and the type of long life and plenty; ceremonies were held in its honor, myths recounted its creation, and its folk-tales delighted old and young. The practical extinction of the buffalo with the last quarter of the nineteenth century gave a death-blow to the ancient culture of the tribes living within its range." — ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

In the *Chicago Record-Herald* for Jan. 17, 1909, is an interesting account by William E. Curtis of the present numbers, habitat, and condition of the few buffalo yet remaining in North America, compiled from data obtained from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the American Bison Society — an association organized at New York in December, 1905, to take measures to secure the preservation of the buffalo; its president is William T. Hornaday, superintendent of the zoölogical gardens in Central Park of that city. This officer has compiled a census of the American buffaloes known to exist on Jan. 1, 1908, which shows their numbers as follows: In Canada 476, in the United States 1,116, in Europe 130, all in captivity; and of wild animals 25 in the United States and 300 in Canada — a total of 2,047 pure-blooded bison. Besides these, there are a considerable number of "cattaloes," the product of a cross between the bison and the domestic breed of cattle — in the United States 260, in Canada 57, in Europe 28. As experience shows that the bison does not breed well in captivity, it has been thought best to provide for them a permanent open range, and a tract of land for this purpose was selected by the American Bison Society in Missoula County, Montana. — Ed.

usually follow up only those animals that they are certain of killing or of capturing by surprise.

The people of the village then encamp in the place [that they find] most convenient, and nearest to the scene of the carnage. This camp being established, the game is divided among the families, each receiving what its hunters have slain; some have more and others less, according to the number of men in each; but the whole is distributed by the decisions of the chiefs, with great equity and justice. Each of these families strips the hides from the animals that fall to its share, and the people remain in the camp until all their store of meat is thoroughly dried. They are very careful to gnaw the bones of the animals so clean that no meat whatever is left on them. They finish [skinning the game] before noon, and the rest of the day is sufficient for preparing the meat [for drying].

The Illinois and their neighbors have no lack of wood for drying their meat; but the Ayoës<sup>94</sup> and the Panys<sup>95</sup>

<sup>94</sup> "The Ayoës, neighbors and allies of the Sioux, resided between 44° and 45° north latitude, at twelve days' journey beyond the Mississippi. They figure in one of the *Relations* of New France under the name of Aiaoua, or Mascouteins Nadouessi (*Relation* of 1673-1679, chap. iii). Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 396) calls them Aiouez." See La Potherie's account (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 182-184) of Perrot's first meeting with this people (in 1685). "In 1836 the old-time alliance of the Ayoës and the Sioux no longer existed. I read the following in a letter by Father Van Quickemborne, of the Society of Jesus, missionary among the Poutéouatomis and the Kickabous (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. x, 130): 'Rumors of war have disturbed us for several days. An incursion by the northern Sioux is announced; and they are reported to be already the conquerors of the Sacks [Sakis, Ousakis] and the Aiouais.' These last and the Sakis lived united, in 1836, at a place thirty miles north of Leavenworth, in Kansas (cf. *Annales*, *ut supra*, 132)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>95</sup> "The Panys of Perrot, Panis of Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 212), *Pan-ismaha* of the *Lett. édif.* (vol. vi, 327), and *Pawnees* of the Anglo-American historians and geographers, wandered about the shores and to the southwest of the Missouri; and they extended very far toward New Mexico (Charlevoix, *ut supra*). Father Vivier (*Lett. édif.*, *ut supra*) classes them also among the Missourian tribes. Even to-day [1864] their hunting-grounds extend to the north of the Platte River in Nebraska. In 1837 their population attained the



generally use only the well-dried dung of the buffaloes, as wood is extremely scarce among them.

Thus you see how these tribes carry on their hunting expeditions, and they are always ready and able to defend their families against their enemies; for the families are always, on the march, placed on the flanks, which are protected on the right and the left by the warriors, and sheltered from the attacks that might be made on them. Besides that, there is nothing to fear behind them, for the men sent out to reconnoiter defend them at the rear, and on such occasions serve them as a rear-guard. It is impossible, therefore, for the enemy to appear without the entire troop knowing it, by means of the alarm-cry which each utters to the next one, and by the prompt assistance of the warriors, who immediately hasten to oppose the enemy. The women and children are out of danger; the warriors make a bold stand, and are very seldom driven back.

number of ten thousand souls (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. xi, 394)." — TAILHAN.

Pani is but a variant of Pawnee, the name of a confederacy belonging to the Caddoan family, which migrated slowly toward the northeast, the Pawnee tribes finally establishing themselves "in the valley of Platte River, Nebraska, which territory, their traditions say, was acquired by conquest." In the nineteenth century, "the trail to the southwest, and later that across the continent, ran partly through Pawnee land, and the increasing travel and the settlement of the country brought about many changes. Through all the vicissitudes of the nineteenth century the Pawnee never made war against the United States," but often under severe provocation waited for the government to redress their wrongs, and their men served as scouts in the United States army during the Indian hostilities. By various treaties (1833-1876) they ceded their lands in Nebraska to the government; and in 1876 they "removed to Oklahoma, where they now live. In 1892 they took their lands in severalty and became citizens of the United States." Their numbers have steadily diminished since 1860, and in 1906 there were but 649 survivors. The name Pawnee "is probably derived from *pariki*, 'a horn,' a term used to designate the peculiar manner of dressing the scalp-lock, by which the hair was stiffened with paint and fat, and made to stand erect and look like a horn." The name was also applied to Indian slaves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, perhaps because the Pawnees at first furnished most of these slaves. — ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



In their winter hunts they follow the same rules; but the snow with which the ground is entirely covered prevents them from making the fires spread, and thus obtaining the same success as in other seasons of the year. As for their [hunting] laws, they are under the same obligation to observe them; but they are unavoidably compelled to arrange a much longer line of men to form the circuit with which it is necessary to surround the buffaloes. If any one of the animals finds an opening for forcing its way through them, they run to meet it to prevent its flight; or else they follow behind the game so swiftly that they always slay many of the beasts.

It is only the skin on the bellies of the cows and that of the yearling calves which the savages use for making their garments; but the hides of the bulls are used for [making] bucklers, with which they ward off their enemies' arrows and the blows of clubs. When they wish to dress this hide, they cut off a sufficient piece of it, and, after thoroughly scraping both sides of it, they boil it a moment in water, and then take it out of the kettle. Then they stretch it on a hoop of the same size as the buckler that they intend to make, and when it is entirely dry it becomes as hard as the heavy leather used for the soles of shoes. When the savages wish to cut it for stretching, they take pains beforehand to make it as nearly round in shape as they can; and when it is quite dry they remove the superfluous leather attached to the hoop [on the outer edge]. In this manner they make the bucklers which they carry to war.

#### VI. *Manner in which the savages hunt the bear in winter*

Toward the end of autumn the bears seek a place where they find shelter from the rigors of the winter

season; it may be in a hollow place in a rock, or under the roots of a tree, or in a hollow log, or else in a hole that the bear digs in the ground. If the animal is very large, it will select the roots of the largest it can find among the fallen trees, and cover them over with a quantity of spruce-branches, in order to entrench itself therein.

This animal is in rut in the month of July, at which time it becomes so lean, and the flesh so insipid and disagreeable in flavor, that it is impossible to eat it; but when that period has passed, the bear has instinctive knowledge of the fruits that can restore it to good condition—such as raspberries, hazelnuts, walnuts, crab-apples, plums, acorns, beechnuts, berries, and other fruits, each according to its season. As soon as the winter has come, the bear makes its retreat in a place least exposed to the cold; and although it eats nothing during all that season it is nevertheless able to retain the fat which has been supplied to it by the fruits on which it fed during the autumn.

The savages apply themselves to hunting the bear in the season when the elk and deer are lean. A war-chief will make up a party of young men, to whom he will give a feast; but note here that the givers of the feast<sup>98</sup> may not eat of it; it is for them to see that the others eat enough. This chief, I say, declares before all the assembly that he desires to go on a bear-hunt, and invites them to accompany him, telling them the day on which

<sup>98</sup> “‘Those of the feast,’ that is, the chief who gives the feast; for he alone, among the company, abstained from taking part in the repast—at least, this is what Charlevoix affirms (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 116). This usage is still in force among some of the tribes of English America: ‘When their supplies of food are abundant, they [the savages of Lake Abbitibbi] sometimes make feasts in honor of the great Manito . . . he who gives the feast has the right to sing during the entire time while the feast lasts; but he is not permitted to eat’ (*Rapport sur les missions de Québec*, no. 2, 52).” — TAILHAN.

he has decided to set out. It must be understood that this feast is sometimes preceded by a fast of eight days, without eating or drinking, in order that the bear may be favorable to the chief and those of his party – meaning that he desires to find and kill some bears, without incurring any injury to himself or his people.

The day of their departure having arrived, he assembles all his men, who, like himself, have their faces blackened with coal; and all remain fasting until evening, when they eat, but only a little. They set out the next morning, and at the start the chief of the party begins to station his men so as to make a circuit of about a quarter or a half of a league, and to complete the enclosing line which was planned at the very place from which they departed. They beat up and then range through the tract of land which is thus enclosed; and they carefully examine all the trees, roots, and rocky places which are within their circuit, and kill the bears which may be found there. As soon as they kill one, they light a pipe and, thrusting it into the animal's throat, they blow the smoke out through its nostrils. They cut the string that is under the tongue, and wrap it in a piece of cloth in order to keep it with great care. After they have carefully examined and traversed all the places within this enclosure, the chief forms still another circuit, if the weather permits; and his men search through this in the same manner as I have already described.

After that, they are occupied in skinning the bears, and the flesh they carry to their camp. If among these animals they find one that is unusually larger and longer than the others, it is roasted in the same manner as a pig is, and set aside for a solemn feast on their arrival at the village. When the animal is skinned, they re-

move all the fat, and cut it into quarters. When all the men have eaten at the camp, at evening each one takes from his pouch all the tongue-strings that he has, which are placed over a brazier with great respect and many invocations—the hunters firmly believing that if these pieces while broiling make a squeaking sound (which never fails to occur), or curl and twist, they will kill more bears. If, on the contrary, no sound is made in the cooking, and the heat does not cause the strings to move, they say that their hunting will be worth little.

It is their custom to hunt on the next day as on the first, to blacken themselves with coal, and to observe their fasting until evening. They also have the habit of washing themselves before their meal, with the notion that, if they failed to do so, they would transgress rules absolutely necessary for obtaining success in hunting bears; and that, these animals being hidden in their holes, the hunters could not discover them, or else would run great risk of being devoured by them. They conduct this hunt with arrows, and not with guns, because the noise [of the latter] would frighten those who were not far away, or prevent them from leaving their lairs.<sup>97</sup>

This hunt lasts sometimes eight days or more; then they return to their village, to which they convey their meat—I mean, the carcasses cut into quarters; and the whole is divided up among the families. If there is among them any stranger, or any of their allies, they also make a present of meat to such.

If the hunt is successful, they invite some near-by villages, and for that purpose they set aside two or three

<sup>97</sup> "It was actually when the bear left its lair that the savages killed it" (see *Relation* of 1634, chap. ix). Cf. Father Allouez, in *Relation* of 1676, chap. iii. "These animals were extraordinarily numerous to the west of Green Bay and Lake Michigan. In one single campaign, one village of Poutéouatomis killed more than five hundred of them" (see Allouez, *ut supra*). — TAILHAN.



carcasses to give to these neighbors. A larger share in the spoils of the chase is given [to those persons] who receive the strangers at their houses to entertain them and to make special feasts for them.

As for the great bear which they had roasted, as has already been stated, a solemn feast of it is made by the chief of the hunting party. This animal is carried to him entire, not even excepting its intestines, and twenty men are invited to this banquet. They cut off the hide of this beast in pieces three or four fingers long; they make a sort of dressing composed of chunks of fat; as for the intestines, both large and small, these remain as they are. They borrow the great kettles which are reserved for feasts of this sort—which always remain outside, and are brought into the cabin only when used on such occasions. Those gentlemen take care to cook the flesh, the head, the haslet, and the entrails of the bear; but the blood is prepared separately, seasoned with the grease from the fat of the animal, which is melted out beforehand. When all is cooked and ready to eat, the chief cooks take as many wooden sticks as there are persons to be invited, and demand from the giver of the feast the names of those whom he wishes to invite; and when he has named them one of these sticks is carried to each guest, with the declaration that he is invited to a feast at the house of [So-and-so]. They do not fail to go thither, each carrying his own dish, and on their arrival take their places. If there are strangers in the room, they are placed next to the giver of the feast; if not, the chiefs have that place. The host has a divinity, supposed [to be chosen] at his pleasure, to whom he dedicates the feast; and his assistants serve all the guests present. There are only three or four who must without fail eat the head, blood, and haslet of the bear; and each

of the others [must eat] a slice of the fat a *brasse*<sup>98</sup> in length (which is distributed among them as equally as possible), if they are to expect the god of the earth to grant to the village his favor and abundance of his blessings. They are still further obliged to drink among them all the oil or grease which floats on the broth after the meat is cooked, and they swallow it as if it were wine. It is not without making great efforts that they come to the end [of the feast]; and when they cannot chew any longer, and the morsels cannot pass their throats, they take some spoonfuls of the broth to make these slip down. There are some of them who die from such excesses, and others who are scarcely able to recover from them; see to what extremes pride and gluttony carry those peoples. For if they have eaten everything they are congratulated thereon, and the spectators come to tell them, by way of praise, that they are [indeed] men; they reply to all these civilities by saying that it is only the proper thing for brave men to do their duty on such an occasion.

When the hunters arrive at the village, if they are loaded all the children, as far away as they can descry them, shout aloud their joy at the sight, with repeated exclamations of *Kous! Kous!* and do this without stopping until the hunters have laid down their loads at the doors of their cabins. Such is always the practice at the arrival of the hunters. For as soon as one [of the children] raises an outcry the rest run out of their houses in order to second him, and the fathers and mothers even strive to urge them on in their shouts.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> The *brasse* was a linear measure of five old-French feet, or 1.62 metres, equivalent to 5.318 English feet. — Ed.

<sup>99</sup> "Very singular ceremonies preceded, accompanied, and followed the feast in which the Montagnais (the lower Algonquins) ate the bear killed in their hunting" (see *Relation* of 1635, chap. iv; *id.* of 1637, chap. xi). "The Montagnais, converted to Catholicism, long ago renounced all these superstitious prac-

## XII. Moral traits of the savages

There are both good and bad traits among the savages. The most praiseworthy are their hospitality and the harmony which prevails between them and the persons connected with them. They have also many faults: ambition, vengeance, self-interest, and vainglory entirely possess their hearts. They follow three principles which induce them to plunge with excess into all kinds of vices.

### I. *The hospitality of the savages*

The hospitality that they exercise surpasses all that which is general among the Europeans. When any stranger asks it from them, they could not receive him more kindly, no matter how unknown he may be; it is on their side the most friendly of welcomes, and they even go so far as to spend all their means to entertain those whom they receive. A stranger as soon as he arrives [at a cabin] is made to sit down on a mat, of the handsomest [that they have], in order to rest from his fatigue; they take off his shoes and stockings, and grease his feet and legs; and the stones are at once put in the fire, and all preparations quickly made, in order to give him a sweat.<sup>100</sup> The master of the family, and some

tices. To-day, when they have slain a bear they make with it a feast to which they invite all their friends, and at which the fat of this animal constitutes the most esteemed viand. The head of the bear is exposed at the top of a pole, in the same place where it was killed. It is a trophy erected by the hunters in order to make known to all who pass that way their good success. Cf. *Missions de Québec*, 11th rep., 63, 94. . . Among the peoples of the Bay of Puans, the head of the slain bear received the adoration of the guests occupied with eating its body" (*Relation* of 1672, chap. ii). "The Miamis ate the bear at the beginning [of the feast], and afterward they adored its skin" (see Father Allouez in *Relation* of 1674, chap. xii). "The customs of Finland also establish the great honors paid to the bear slain by the hunters — a usage doubtless originating in various countries from the terror which this powerful animal inspires, and from the benefits obtained by the family from hunting it." — TAILHAN.

<sup>100</sup> See description of this sweating process in *Relation* of 1634, chap. vi —



other men who are prominent in the community, go with him into the place where the sweat is given, and allow him to lack for nothing therein. The kettle is over the fire, so as to provide food for him when he comes out of the sweat; and if the cabin in which he lodges is not very well supplied with provisions, search is made through-

"another point of resemblance to the northern peoples of Eastern Russia."

— TAILHAN.

"Few practices were so universal among the Indians as the sweat-bath, probably known to every tribe north of Mexico, although along the northwest coast south of the Eskimo territory it seems to have been superseded by bathing in the sea. The sweat-lodge is to this day common in most Indian villages and camps. The type of the ordinary sweat-house seems to have been everywhere the same. Willow rods or other pliant stems were stuck into the ground and bent and fastened with withes into a hemispherical or oblong framework, which usually was large enough to accommodate several persons. A hole conveniently near the door was dug, into which stones, usually heated outside, were dropped by means of forked sticks. These were sprinkled with water to furnish steam. A temporary covering of blankets or skins made the inclosure tight. This was the sweat-house in its simplest form. . . . In no tribe was the sweat-lodge made except according to prescribed rules. In permanent villages a more roomy and substantial house was made. . . . Among the Indian tribes methods of sweating seem to have been everywhere very similar. After a half-hour or more spent in the steaming air of the sweat-house, the bather plunged into the cold water of a stream, when one was near, and thus the function ended."

"There seem to have been three distinct purposes for which sweating was practiced. First, it was a purely religious rite or ceremony for the purpose of purifying the body and propitiating spirits. A sweat-bath was always undergone by warriors preparing for war, among many tribes, by boys at the puberty age; and, perhaps generally, before any serious or hazardous undertaking. Such ceremonial baths were almost always attended by scarification or the mutilation of some part of the body. . . . No doubt the offering of prayers in the sweat-house for success in various enterprises was a general custom. The religious motive probably gave rise to the practice, and it was by far the most important in the estimation of the Indian. Second, sweating was important in medical practice for the cure of disease. The underlying idea was doubtless analogous to its religious and ceremonial use, since it was intended to influence disease spirits, and was usually prescribed by the shaman, who sang outside and invoked the spirits while the patient was in the sweat-house. . . . Third, it was often purely social and hygienic. A number of individuals entered the sweat-house together, apparently actuated only by social instinct and appreciation of the luxury of a steam bath." Among some tribes this was "an almost daily custom, frequently having no other purpose than to give pleasure. It is probable that this practice is modern and that the sweat-bath has lost something of its primitive importance and sacredness." — H. W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



out the village for the best food for him. I mean here the best grain and the best quality of meat which can be found, for which the man in whose house the stranger is accommodated afterward pays, often at four times what it is usually worth. While the guest is eating, all the leading people come to pay him visits. If he is clad in cloth garments, they take from him his clothing, and instead they give him furs, of their handsomest and most valued, to clothe him from head to foot. He is invited to all the feasts that are given in the village, and in conversation they inquire of him for some news from his own part of the country. If he knows of nothing new, he draws on his imagination for it; and even if he lies no one would venture to contradict him, even supposing that they were quite certain of facts contrary to his stories. There is but one person alone of the entire assembly who converses with the stranger; all the rest keep silence, with the reserve and modesty that are prescribed for a novice in a religious order, in which he is obliged to maintain this behavior under penalty of the severe measures belonging to the most strict rule on this point. When the stranger shows a desire to return whence he came, they load him with what is most suitable for his journey; if he is inclined to prefer peltries to other goods, these are given to him. They are just as liberal toward those who give them nothing as to those who carry [presents] to them.

This sort of reception is ordinary among the savages; in point of hospitality, it is only the Abenakis, and those who live with the French people, who have become somewhat less liberal, on account of the advice that our people have given them by placing before them the obligations resting on them to preserve what they have. At the present time, it is evident that these savages are fully as selfish and avaricious as formerly they were hospitable.

able. Although they are no less haughty than they were before, they have fallen very low in sordidness, even so far as to beg; and notwithstanding all that, the most singular thing is, that they not only consider themselves so necessary to those who aid them to live, but regard those very persons as their inferiors and incapable of excelling them. Those of the savages who have not been too much humored [by the French] are attached to the ancient custom of their ancestors, and among themselves are very compassionate. If any one of them is in want, they at once unite their efforts to assist him. When there has been scarcity of grain among their allies, they have invited the latter to come to them for it. They are very tender-hearted in regard to sick people, for they employ all means in their power, and give all that they can, to relieve the sufferings of these. If there is any child captured from their enemies whose life has been spared, and whose master allows him to suffer for lack of food, they give him something to eat.

When a stranger to whom they have given hospitality wishes to go home and is ready to depart, the host who has received him packs up his belongings, and gives him the best things that he has in his cabin—whether in peltries, trade-goods, or provisions—that may be necessary to the guest on his journey. Although such generosity may be astonishing, it must be admitted that ambition is more the motive for it than is charity. One hears them boast incessantly of the agreeable manner with which they receive people into their houses, and of the gifts that they bestow on their guests—although it is not denied that this is done smilingly and with all possible graciousness.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> "Most of the *Relations*—those, for example, of 1634 (chap. v and xiii), of 1635, of 1636 (chap. vi), and, finally, of 1673 (chap. ii)—bestow the same

## II. *Of the harmony among the savages*

The harmony which subsists among the savages is in truth displayed not only by their words, but in their actual conduct. The chiefs who are most influential and well-to-do are on an equal footing with the poorest, and even with the boys – with whom they converse as they do with persons of discretion. They warmly support and [even] take in hand the cause of one another among friends; and when there are any disputes they proceed therein with great moderation. They expose themselves as little as possible to personal encounters and disputes together;<sup>102</sup> and if there is any person who deserves a reprimand, this is given to him with great mildness. The old men treat the young men as sons, and these call the old men their “fathers.” Seldom are there quarrels between them. When some erring person has committed an evil deed through a hasty and choleric disposition, the entire village takes an interest in the settlement of the

praise on the hospitality of the savages as does Perrot. ‘Hospitality,’ it is said in the last-named *Relation* just cited, ‘is a moral virtue which is very common among the savages.’ If, then, one chances on certain passages (*Relation* of 1634, chap. vi) where the contrary seems to be affirmed, it must be understood of savages spoiled by the neighborhood of Europeans, and initiated by them into the meanest calculations of cupidity. It must, however, be admitted that savage hospitality seems to have been frequently blind lavishness, by which one man expected to retaliate upon another; it was quite as much extravagant display of comradeship, and heedlessness of the future, as cordial liberality. ‘A savage will observe that the kettle is over the fire at his neighbor’s house, or that the latter is actually eating his meal, and he will go, without ceremony and without being invited, to sit down there and eat as if he were in his own house; and . . . he returns home without taking into account the favor that he has just received – because, in his eyes, it is not a favor. The next day, another man will do the same by him’ (*Missions de Québec*, 12th rep., 66).”

– TAILHAN.

<sup>102</sup> “The harmony among the members of the same tribe, and especially among those of the same family, was and still is truly admirable among the savages. Perrot, in his depiction of this for us, falls short of the reality.” See *Relation* of 1636, part 2, chap. vi; and an especially interesting example of fraternal love, in *Relation* of 1648, chap. x; cf. also *Relation* of 1634, chap. v.

– TAILHAN.



affair; they contribute together to render satisfaction to the injured party, who finds no difficulty in laying aside the vengeance which he had proposed to take on the offender; and they seldom refuse to accept the decision of any prominent man who intervenes in the affair. Sometimes there are some of them who positively insist on the death of the guilty person; and if the old men come to an agreement about it those who are inclined to vengeance will not say a word, but will not fail, at the first opportunity, to break the head of some relative or tribesman of the murderer—or of several, according to the number of people who have been slain. For if they killed more [than that number], that would be the means of arousing a war; instead, they only return blow for blow, and are quits for it by the presents which they make—as they say, to wipe away the blood [that was shed]. If the first one slain was a man, his death will be avenged upon a son of the murderer. When affairs are settled, they are satisfied on both sides, as has been said.

If any person encounters a grievous accident or a great misfortune, the entire village takes an interest in it, and goes to console him. The men perform this duty for the men, and the women fulfil it for one another among themselves. Visits of this sort are paid to the afflicted person without conversation. The visitor fills his pipe with tobacco and presents it to the other to smoke; after he has smoked it for a little while he returns it to the person who gave it to him, so that the latter also may smoke. This method of smoking by turns lasts for some time, and then he who came to console returns to his own house; and on his departure the sufferer thanks him for the kindly interest in his troubles which his visitor has shown. You must know that custom or-



dains that visits of this sort must be serious, and made in silence; the reason which they give for this is, that if they should use their voices for condolence on these occasions they would cause such agitation in the mind of him who was in affliction that it would excite him to vengeance for the injury, or on the person who had wronged him.

### III. *Justice among the savages*

When savages have committed theft and are discovered, they are compelled to make restitution, or to give satisfaction for the theft with other goods in case these stolen are spent. If there should be failure to render this satisfaction, the man who had been robbed would gather several of his comrades, and would go—entirely naked, as if he were marching against his enemies, and carrying his bow and arrows—into the cabin of the thief, where he plunders and seizes everything that belongs to him; nor does the guilty man dare to say a word, but keeps his head bowed down between his knees. But if he feels that he is innocent of the crime of which he is accused, he rushes to seize his weapons, and tries to oppose this pillage. The spectators who are present hold back those who are most hot-headed; but if there were only the parties concerned the affair would not pass by without bloodshed, or some one being killed. If, on the contrary, the accused were innocent and had killed his man [while defending his property], it would not be necessary for him to make satisfaction; for his innocence would shelter him from all evil results. But when he is really a criminal he himself utters his own condemnation, and never denies the fact, and he quietly suffers when three or four times the amount of what he stole is taken away from him. If among his goods there were any article that he had borrowed, its owner comes forward to re-

claim what belongs to him, which is surrendered to him without any objection, the savages never appropriating anything of what does not pertain to them.<sup>103</sup>

When one of their connections commits a murder and is discovered to be its author, all the old men come together, make up among themselves a considerable present, and send it by deputies, in order to come to an agreement regarding means to arrest vengeance; for they all are involved in that vengeance, so far as it concerns in particular the leading persons of the offended tribe. The deputies, on their arrival at the place to which they were sent, enter with their presents the cabin of the murdered person; and the reception given to them is similar to that previously described when writing of the sweat-house. After the envoys have eaten what is offered to them, they produce their presents in the middle of the cabin, and demand that all the chiefs be called in to hear them; and when all have come they speak as follows:

"We are here to confess to you the crime committed by one of our young men upon So-and-so" (and then they name the man who was slain). "Our village does not approve the [act of the] murderer. You know that you have been our allies for a long time, and that your ancestors and ours presented the calumets to each other to smoke together" (they mention the year). "Since that time our villages have always aided each other against such and such a nation, with whom we were at war. You are not ignorant that our dead are in the other world, in the same place as yours; and if Heaven has permitted that one deluded man has overthrown or

<sup>103</sup> Observe the attitude of the Hurons (although they were very thievish) toward this offense, as mentioned in *Relation* of 1636, chap. vi; and "the village near which a theft has been committed is responsible for it, if the actual offender cannot be detected (*Relation* of 1637, part 2, chap. i)." — TAILHAN.

broken the union which our ancestors had with you, and which we have always maintained, we have therefore come with the design of averting your just resentment. While you are waiting for a more complete satisfaction, this present which we offer you is to wipe away your tears; that one is to lay a mat under the corpse of your dead; and this other, to lay on him a sheet of bark to cover him and shield him from the bad effects of the weather."

If the relatives of the dead man should be unwilling to hear any talk of satisfaction, and should take the resolution of positively obtaining vengeance for their loss, several of the old men would intervene with presents, in order to become mediators. They would argue that the people were placing themselves on the verge of having a war, with most grievous consequences, and, entreating the afflicted ones to have pity on their land, would warn them that when war was once kindled there would no longer be safety in any place; that many innocent persons would be sacrificed; that warriors attack indiscriminately all whom they encounter while on the warpath; that there would be no longer any peace or confidence between neighbors; and that, in short, they would behold desolation so great that brother would slay brother and cousin slay cousin, and that they would be their own destroyers; for as the ties of marriage and alliance are so strongly knit together, each man considers himself as a member no longer of the village where he was born, but of that one in which he has settled.

If the distressed relatives steadily persist in trying to obtain vengeance, and if the village is a large one and inclined to support their contention, the chiefs are detailed to confer with the principal men among the mur-



derer's relatives, who are continually on their guard. These envoys set forth, when there is no way of settling the difficulty, that they are in danger of the destruction, for the sake of one man, of an entire village, [and that] by allies who cease to be such when they declare themselves enemies, and who are certainly very strong. They therefore induce the relatives, by dint of presents, to deliver the guilty man to his own comrades, who break his head and then cut it off to send it to the dead man's relatives. After that, presents are made on both sides in order to complete the arrangement.<sup>104</sup>

#### IV. *Of the ambition and vainglory of the savages*

All the savages generally display much vainglory in their actions, whether good or bad. They are as vain of debauchery as of valor; of the excesses and insolent acts that they commit when drunken, as of the chase; and of lewdness, as of generosity. When they choose to glorify themselves for the good that they have done, or the services that they have rendered to any one, they use audacious taunts; and in order to praise themselves for things that are worthy of reproach, they employ language and a certain manner of speaking that are so ridiculous and intolerable that nothing more would be needed, among Europeans, to excite quarrels. You would be astonished at seeing them get ready [for some

<sup>104</sup> "It is no longer a question of presents when the head of the culprit has been cut off; but this happens so rarely that one might say it did not exist."

— ANON.

"Poisoners taken in the act, or those who were suspected of having by their sorceries caused the death of any one, were killed without any form of trial (*Relation* of 1635). As for other murderers, they were usually under obligation only to pay the price of blood to the relatives of the victim; and yet it was not they, but their village or their tribe, which must furnish this amount. Hardly ever was this price refused." See *Relation* of 1636, chap. vi; also that of 1648, chap. xvii; in the latter, Ragueneau says, "In one word, it is the crime that is punished." — TAILHAN.



occasion]; they do not know what posture to assume; I believe that if they had a mirror before their eyes<sup>105</sup> they would change their appearance every quarter of an hour. Are they occupied with their hair, they arrange it over and over again, in the most elaborate manner that they can devise. They are no less fantastic in making up their faces with different colors, which they are continually applying thereon. In one word, ambition is one of the strongest passions which animate them.

### V. *Of the vengeance of the savages*

The vengeance of the savages is more often inspired by ambition than by courage, for there are no people in the world more cowardly than they are.<sup>106</sup> That is made

<sup>105</sup> "That is something which they are never without." — ANON.

It is said of the Outaouais that they always "carry a mirror in the hand, and very often gaze at themselves to admire their grotesque ornaments" (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. iv, 543). "In order to witness similar ridiculous performances, it is not absolutely necessary to go so far as among the savages." — TAILHAN.

<sup>106</sup> "Perrot here seems to me much too severe, his European prejudices not permitting to render to the savage's valor the justice which is due him. From the fact that those peoples do not understand courage in our way, it does not follow that we can accuse them of cowardice. They are almost as brave as the heroes of Homer. It is success that they seek above all else; moreover, when they see fortune turning against them and find that one path is still open to flight, they do not hesitate to take it—not so much through fear of death as because they have gone to war in order to carry away the scalp of their enemy, and not to leave their own with him. They hold, therefore, in slight esteem those deaths so glorious to the modern mode of thinking, which might have been averted by seasonable precaution." But they have actually displayed almost incredible bravery in some battles (see especially the account of an assault by Iroquois on Fort Richelieu, in *Relation* of 1642, chap. xi), and in numberless cases of death by torture at the hands of a pitiless enemy. "That the courage of those peoples may need to be aroused by motives of vengeance, of honor, or of self-interest, I willingly admit on the testimony of Perrot; but what civilized man is not a savage in this respect? Such motives were not lacking among them, bravery being held in high esteem among our Indians; and, united with liberality, it alone could secure any influence among them. The extraordinary value which they placed on it, may even furnish us a tolerably plausible explanation of the horrible torments that they inflicted on their prisoners of war. Among some of those tribes, one would think, it was actually their main pur-

sufficiently evident in their fits of passion by the trembling with which their bodies are seized, and the pallor which would appear upon their faces if these were not covered with black, red, or other colors. They expose themselves to danger with great rashness;<sup>107</sup> it is that which renders them so enterprising; for if ambition excites them to vengeance they will go stealthily to kill a man in the midst of his friends, and to confront an ambuscade, even though they are sure that they can never return from the undertaking.<sup>108</sup> They are so bold that they will approach a hostile camp so near that they can count their foes.<sup>109</sup> But all these extraordinary displays of courage are maintained only through vainglory, or from a passion to attract praises to themselves, either during life or after death. Notwithstanding, the reproach has quite often been cast on them that they had been cowardly enough to suffer injuries and let them go unpunished; the reason is, that [in such cases] ambition had no share, for there is no extreme to which their

pose to force the captive to dishonor himself and his tribe by yielding to the violence of the tortures, and betraying his weakness by tears and groans unworthy of a brave man. But this refinement of vengeance hardly ever attained its object. Then—that is, when the victim had, by his unshakable fortitude, mocked the hopes of his butchers, they consoled themselves by devouring his heart and drinking his blood, to the end that they might thus appropriate to themselves his invincible courage, which they were forced to admire. Besides, it was this last result which was almost exclusively sought. Accordingly, only prisoners of distinction were subjected to these torments, since their known intrepidity dissipated even the shadow of a doubt on this point. Cf. Simon, *Noticias historiales de la conquista de Tierra-Firme*, not. ii, 82, and not. iv, 315, 322.” — TAILHAN.

<sup>107</sup> “Wrong; there is no temerity among them.” — ANON.

“It is evident from the preceding note that the valor of the savage is sometimes accompanied by a daring which borders on temerity; farther on in Perrot’s own account may be seen instances of this (chap. xvi);” see also *Relation* of 1670, chap. vi. — TAILHAN.

<sup>108</sup> “Wrong.” — ANON.

“I would be quite inclined to think that this time the criticism is correct.”

— TAILHAN.

<sup>109</sup> “By favor of the night and of some woodland.” — ANON.

passion for it does not carry them, even to desperation, and to treachery in order to take their revenge.

VI. *Among the savages, self-interest dominates [even] ambition and vengeance*

Although ambition and vengeance are two passions which imperiously possess the minds of the savages, self-interest carries them still further, and has far more ascendancy over them. There is no disgrace or injury which they do not overlook if those who have insulted them indemnify them with goods of sufficient value.<sup>110</sup> They will sell the lives of their nearest relatives, and will even consent to permit their friends to be killed. They will tolerate (although they are jealous) the prostitution of their wives, the violation of their daughters and their sisters. They will engage in unjust wars, and will break treaties of peace with [other] peoples without good cause. Self-interest corrupts them, and renders them capable of every kind of evil deed; they make it their chief idol, as being that one in which they place all their confidence.<sup>111</sup> This maxim renders, in their view, all projects which they form by it in all cases glorious, however base and treacherous these may be; and

<sup>110</sup> "Exaggeration." — ANON.

"We see, however, even here (page 102), the Outaouais violating, for the sake of wretched lucre, the most sacred laws of hospitality, by delivering to the Hurons a Sioux chief who was united to their own chief by an alliance the most intimate that can exist between two Indians of different tribes. It would seem to me almost certain that Perrot, in drawing in his memoirs this portrait (certainly not a flattering one) of savages in general had especially in view the great family of the Illinois. In order to be convinced of this, one has only to compare with the text of our author what Father Marest wrote of this same people at the same period (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 322). . . In short, it is evident that, generally speaking, the savages are neither brutes nor heroes, nor altogether men, but great children — who most often allow themselves to be carried away by the first impression, good or bad, when self-interest does not decide them."

— TAILHAN.

<sup>111</sup> "Some are capable of cowardice of this sort, but few." — ANON.



besides glorying in such things they never fail to accomplish them, so far as is within their power, as will be seen by what follows.

VII. *Subordination is not a maxim among the savages*

The savage does not know what it is to obey. It is more often necessary to entreat him than to command him; he nevertheless yields to all demands made upon him—especially when he fancies that there is either glory or profit to be expected therefrom, and then he comes forward of his own accord and offers his aid. The father does not venture to exercise authority over his son, nor does the chief dare to give commands to his soldier—he will mildly entreat; and if any one is stubborn in regard to some [proposed] movement, it is necessary to flatter him in order to dissuade him, otherwise he will go further [in his opposition]. If the chiefs possess some influence over them, it is only through the liberal presents and the feasts which they give to their men, and here is the reason which induces them to pay respect to their chiefs; for it is characteristic of the savages always to incline to the side of those who give them most and who flatter them most.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> "Among the savages of New France, the principle of independence was absolute; and it recognized in no authority the right to impose limits on it. Each tribe, and in each tribe every village, and in each village every family, and in each family every individual, all considered themselves free to act according to their own pleasure, without ever having to render account to any one. It is equally correct to say that the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonquins had no government. Their chiefs enjoyed no power except in military and hunting expeditions, in which, moreover, they were followed only by those persons who were very desirous to go. In all other circumstances their only means for securing obedience was persuasion, and even this method did not always succeed. . . . If a murder were committed, if a peace solemnly pledged with another people were violated by the caprice of a single individual, the chiefs must not undertake to punish the offender directly; that would have been to ascribe to themselves a jurisdiction over him which they did not even dream of claiming. Presents were offered to the injured party, to 'cover the



### XIII. Continuation of the war between the Algonkins and the Irroquois, which has been carried on against many other tribes

I have made remarks on the subject of the war by the Algonkins against the Irroquois, at the beginning of this memoir; and [have stated] that the Irroquois, having been compelled to abandon Lake Erie, had retired to Lake Ontario, which at present bears the name of Lake Frontenac; and that they had always remained there or in its vicinity, after they had driven out the Chaoüanons and their allies toward Carolina.

In the raids which the Irroquois made in that period they carried away many families from among their enemies, and spared the lives of the children, who became, when grown, so many warriors in their service. The victories which they had gained over those tribes prompted some of the latter to take revenge for the murders which the Irroquois had committed on their people, in which they had been too shamefully treated. They marched therefore against the Irroquois and routed many of them, but the latter soon avenged themselves for this, for, as the Algonkins had attacked them only with small parties, their defeats had not been of great importance.<sup>113</sup> It is certain that the lack of subordina-

dead,' or to restore the peace, and all was said — a custom which we meet also in the nations who invaded the Roman empire in the fifth century. The greatest punishment that could be inflicted on the guilty person was, not to defend him, and to allow those whom he had injured freedom to take vengeance on him at their own risk and peril." See *Relations* — of 1634, of 1637 (chap. xiii), of 1648 (chap. x). "It was not altogether thus with the tribes scattered through the valley of the Mississippi. Among some of these — for example, the Miamis and the Natchez — the chiefs possessed far more extensive power, and sometimes even unlimited; but that was only an exception. Cf. Perrot (chap. xx), *Relation of 1671* (chap. iv), and *Lett. édif.* (vol. vii, 9 ff.)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>113</sup> "This passage of Perrot is very obscure. As the phrases of which it is

tion which has always prevailed among that [Algonkin] people has been a reason why they have not destroyed that of the Irroquois; do we not see every day that the largest [war-]parties among them will not listen to any commands, and that the chiefs, each giving orders according to his own judgment, cause their plans to miscarry?

This war lasted until the peace which Messieurs Tracy and de Courcelles granted [1666] to the Aniez when they went to make war on those peoples, whose courage had terrified the Irroquois;<sup>114</sup> it was among the French that this peace ceased to be permanent, when Monsieur the Marquis [de] Denonville marched [1687]

composed can be applied alike to the Iroquois or to the Algonquins, they offer only an equivocal and perplexed meaning. Among all the explanations that can be furnished, this appears to me most probable: the Algonquins marched against the Iroquois parties, who had taken the war-path in order to avenge the murder of their tribesmen, and defeated many of them; but the Iroquois did not delay in taking their revenge. Having been attacked, in the first encounters, only by small bands of Algonquins, their defeats could not be very bloody ones, and consequently could not greatly weaken them. Cf. La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. i, 293." — TAILHAN.

<sup>114</sup> " 'Whose courage had terrified the Iroquois.' Grammatically, these words can be understood only of the Agniers, one of the five confederated Iroquois tribes. But then how could the courage of the Agniers frighten the friends and allies of that warlike people? Because their courage, that is, their presumptuous audacity and their violence, imposed fear on the rest of the confederation, and hindered the conclusion of the peace with the French. This would be quite in accord with what the *Relation* of 1648 (chap. vii) states, of the fear inspired by the Agniers in their own countrymen: 'What has caused, it is said, the Onnontaeronnon [the Iroquois of Onnontagué; the Onondagas] to entertain thoughts of peace is . . . secondly, the fear that they feel lest the Annieronnon [the Agniers, or Mohawks] — who become insolent in their victories, and who render themselves insupportable even to their allies — may become too strong, and in time tyrannize over them.' Perhaps also this member of the sentence should be referred to Messieurs de Tracy and de Courcelles, whose courage frightened the Iroquois, and constrained them to demand peace. It would not be the first time, in this memoir, when the grammatical construction and the author's meaning openly contradicted each other. Perrot, as is known, did not pride himself on literary skill; he was more practiced in affairs than in rules of syntax. Account must also be taken of the uncertainty in which we remain over the correct reading of a text of which the original is lost and of which but a single copy remains to us." — TAILHAN.

against the S[on]nontoäns. However, Monsieur de la Barre afterward [1684] led an expedition against the Onontagués, with whom he concluded a peace.<sup>115</sup>

#### XIV. Defeat and flight of the Hurons, driven out of their own country

The French having discovered this country [of Canada], the news of their settlement [in it] spread from tribe to tribe. The Algonkins were living, as I have previously remarked, along the river of the Outaoüas,<sup>116</sup> and the Hurons were in their own ancient country.<sup>117</sup> These latter, after having been at war with the Irroquois, made peace with them [1624]. Missionaries were granted to a party of them who came [to the French settlements], and a detachment of soldiers to defend them in case they were attacked [1644]. The Irroquois stirred up war against one of the Huron villages, and laid it waste. They maintained peace with another village of the same people, but seized a third by surprise and ruined it, as they had the first. Those of the Hurons who could escape separated; some went toward the Illinois, and the others went down [the St. Lawrence] to the [French] colony, with the missionaries and the soldiers who were compelled to abandon their stations [1650-1651].

This defeat spread terror among the Outaoüas and their allies, who were at Sankinon, at Thunder Bay, and at Manitoaletz and Michillimakinak. They went

<sup>115</sup> "Monsieur de la Barre made his expedition before Monsieur Denonville had come to this country; it is Monsieur de Callières who concluded the peace which Monsieur Denonville had broken." — ANON.

"In the detailed narration of these events which we read farther on, Perrot has restored the order of the facts, here by oversight confused." — TAILHAN.

<sup>116</sup> "In Three Rivers and at Montréal." — ANON.

<sup>117</sup> "Between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario." — ANON.



to dwell together among the Hurons, on the island which we call Huron Island.<sup>118</sup> The Iroquois remained at peace with another village, established at Detroit, of sav-

<sup>118</sup> "Huron Island, located at the entrance to the Bay of Puans, in Lake Michigan, now figures on the American maps under the name of Pottowatomie Island — and with good reason, since the Poutéouatamis were its first inhabitants. But at the period when the Outaouais Algonquins of Sankinon and Anse-a-tonnerre (Saginaw and Thunder Bays, on the western shore of Lake Huron), and of Michillimakinak and Manitoaletz (Mackinaw and Manitouline, two islands in the same lake), took refuge there, the Poutéouatamis had already left it. Indeed, it is evident from a comparison of Perrot's narrative with that of La Potherie that, on departing from Huron Island, the Algonquins and their allies retreated into Michigan (the present state of Wisconsin and northwestern section of Michigan), and settled among the Poutéouatamis, at a day's journey (seven or eight leagues) from the abode which their fear of the Iroquois forced them to abandon. The Poutéouatamis welcomed the fugitives with all the more kindness since they belonged to the same race, speaking the same language, and were animated with the same hatred against the Iroquois, who in former times had driven them also from their native land — that is, from the immense peninsula which to-day forms the eastern division of Michigan (*Relation* of 1667, chap. ix; *id.* of 1671, third part, and chap. v). This first migration of the Poutéouatamis must have been made about 1636 at latest, for after 1637 or 1638 we find them established in the neighborhood of the Puans, and consequently near the bay to which the latter tribe gave their name (*Relation* of 1640, chap. x). In the course of the following years they spread along the shores of that same bay, the inner end of which they were occupying in 1671 (*Relation* of 1671, *ut supra*), having also again taken possession of Huron Island, and some of their bands being dispersed over the neighboring mainland, at the entrance of the bay. At least this is what Father Allouez seems to indicate when, on the one hand, he places the country of the Poutéouatamis in the Lake of the Illinois or Lake Michigan (*Relation* of 1667, chap. ix), which is literally true of Huron Island only; and, on the other, he mentions a village of that same people situated on one of the shores of the bay, eight leagues from an Ousaki village built on the opposite shore (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xii). Now the bay is no wider than its entrance (Marquette, *Récit des voyages*, chap. i). Warriors, hunters, and fishers, the Poutéouatamis were of all the western savages the most docile, and the most friendly to the French. Their natural politeness and their kind attentions extended even to strangers, which is very rare among those peoples (*Relation* of 1667, *ut supra*). Finally (and this is the most complete encomium on their energetic vitality), they have thus far resisted the method, as efficacious as hypocritical, which the Anglo-Saxon race has so profitably employed to rid itself of so many other tribes. They have been poisoned with rum and brandy; fraudulent treaties have been imposed on them, by threats or by misrepresentations, which despoiled them of their territory, almost without compensation. Thus they have been driven back from one region to another, [till they are] far beyond the Mississippi, in a corner of Kansas, from



ages who were called "Neutral Hurons," because they did not embrace the interests of their allies, but maintained an attitude of neutrality. The Irroquois, however, compelled these people to abandon Detroit and settle in the Irroquois country. Thus they augmented their own strength, not only by the many children whom they took captive, but by the great number of Neutral Hurons whom they carried to their own country; and it was at that time that they made so many raids against the Algonkins that the latter were compelled to seek shelter among the French of the [Canadian] colony. The Nipissings made a stand in their villages during several years; but they were finally obliged to flee far

which the flood of invaders will, without doubt, again drive them; but all has been useless, and they obstinately persist in living. A day will come, however, when they, [with patience] worn out by so many injustices and outrages, will endeavor to take in their own way a revenge too well deserved; then all will be ended. On these incorrigible Redskins, bold enough to scalp some of the Pale-faces who have so long oppressed, plundered, or even murdered them, will be let loose five or six thousand militiamen, and a "heroic" general who has to repair his reputation; grape-shot will be poured on them without pity, and those whom the cannon shall have spared will be hanged by way of an example. [If you doubt this] inquire first for the tribes of Oregon, or the Sioux of Minnesota." — TAILHAN.

See description of the Bay of Puans (Baie Verte, or Green Bay) and its apparent tides, in Marquette's *Récit des voyages* (chap. i), and an account of Father André's observations thereon in *Relation* of 1676. "Some recent observations have confirmed the truth of all that precedes. In fact, see what I find in the *Correspondant* of October, 1862 (vol. lvii of the collection, p. 257, note 2): 'Mr. Graham has just verified the fact of lunar tides in Lake Michigan, in America.'" — TAILHAN.

In 1849 Increase A. Lapham made observations which indicated regular tides in Lake Michigan, apparently the first scientific discovery of this phenomenon. (See G. G. Meade's *Report of Survey of Northern Lakes, 1861*, pp. 313, 361.) This matter again received attention in 1871, observations being made at Milwaukee which showed semi-diurnal tides at that point—solar of 4/100 and lunar of 8/100 of a foot. At the same time was investigated the phenomenon of irregular oscillations (or seiches) in the surface-level; these appeared to be caused by "oscillations of the barometer, either local or general, and by the accompanying winds, periodicity arising in some cases by reflection from an opposite shore." (See detailed account by C. B. Comstock in *id.*, 1872, pp. 7-16). — ED.

northward to Alimibegon [Nepigon]; and the savages who had been neighbors to the Hurons fled, with those along the Outaoüas River, to Three Rivers.

The Irroquois, elated by the advantage which they had gained over their enemies in thus compelling them to take flight, and finding no other bones to gnaw, made several attacks upon the Algonkins and even upon the French, taking several captives who were afterward restored to their homes. That was succeeded by more than one treaty of peace, which proved to be of short duration. The early relations of these events describe them quite fully; accordingly I do not expatiate upon them here, but limit myself to an account of only such things as they have omitted, and which I have learned from the lips of the old men among the Outaoüa tribes.

The following year [1653], the Irroquois sent another expedition, which counted 800 men, to attack the Outaoüas; but those tribes, feeling sure that the enemy had ascertained the place where they had established themselves, and would certainly make another attack against them, had taken the precaution to send out one of their scouting parties, who went as far as the former country of the Hurons, from which they had been driven. These men descried the Irroquois party who were marching against them, and hastened back to carry the news of this incursion to their own people at that [Huron] Island. They immediately abandoned that place and retreated to Méchingan, where they constructed a fort, resolving to await there the enemy. The Irroquois [came to that region, but] were unable to accomplish anything during the first two years. They made further efforts to succeed, and put in the field a little army, as it were, intending to destroy the villages of that new settlement, at which a considerable extent of land had been

already cleared. But the Outaoüas had time enough to harvest their grain before the arrival of the enemy; for they were always careful to keep scouts on the watch, in order not to be taken by surprise, and the scouts saw the enemy in time. The Irroquois finally arrived one morning before the fort, which appeared to them impregnable. In their army were many Hurons who were the offspring of the people whom they had come to attack—men whose mothers had escaped from the ruin of their tribe when the Irroquois had invaded their former country. The enemy had at the time not much food, because they found very little game on the route which they had thus far followed. Deliberations were held, and propositions for a treaty of peace were made. One of these was that the Hurons who were in the Irroquois army should be given up, which was heeded and granted. In order to settle upon the terms of the treaty, it was agreed that six of their chiefs should enter the fort of the Hurons, and that the latter should, in exchange, give six of their men as hostages. A treaty of peace was accordingly made and concluded between them. The Outaoüas and Hurons made presents of food to the Irroquois, and also traded with them for blankets and porcelain collars.<sup>119</sup> The latter remained in camp for several days to rest their warriors, but when they entered the fort only a few at a time were admitted, and these were drawn by the Outaoüas over the palisades by ropes.

The Outaoüas sent word to the Irroquois army before their departure that they wished to present to each of their men a loaf of corn-bread; but they prepared a poison to mix with the bread. When the loaves were baked, they were sent to the Irroquois; but a Huron

<sup>119</sup> "Porcelain" was the Canadian-French term for the shell, glass, or porcelain beads used as money and ornaments by the Indians—the "wampum" of English writers.—Ed.



woman who had an Irroquois husband knew the secret, and warned her son not to eat any of the bread, because it had been poisoned. The son immediately informed the Irroquois of this; they threw the bread to their dogs, who died after eating it. They needed no more to assure them of the conspiracy against them, and determined to go away without provisions. They concluded to divide their forces into two parties; one of these embarked from that place,<sup>120</sup> and were defeated by the Saulteurs, Missisakis, and people of the Otter tribe (who are called in their own tongue Mikikoüet),<sup>121</sup> but few of the Irroquois escaping. The main force pushed farther on, and soon

<sup>120</sup> "Our manuscript here presents a gap which I do not attempt to fill. I thought at first that I could do so, by reading this passage thus: [*Dont l'un relascha de l'autre côté du lac*]; but the space left blank by the copyist is so small that it deprives of all probability this attempt at restoring the text. What is certain is, that of the two Iroquois parties one returned on their march, and, crossing the Bay of Puans and the lake of the Illinois, took the road to their own country, going along the shores of Lake Huron (where they were surprised and defeated by the Saulteurs, Mississakis, and Mikikouets); the other pushed farther on, toward the southwest, and penetrated as far as the territory of the Illinois, where they too were entirely routed. This conclusion is reached by comparing the narratives of Perrot and La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 54). We note, however, that this latter writer, by an evident *quiproquo*, makes those of the Iroquois go to the Illinois whose route, after their departure from the country of the Poutéouatamis, followed the shores of Lake Huron — which is absurd; for, in order to reach Lake Huron from Michigan, they must of necessity have turned their backs on the Illinois, and on the vast prairies where, it is claimed, they had encountered that people." — TAILHAN.

<sup>121</sup> "It has been previously seen (chap. xi, note [80]) that the Sauteurs, or Chippewais, who in former times inhabited that portion of western Michigan which is bathed by the waters of the three lakes — Michigan, Superior, and Huron — have almost entirely abandoned it. Part of them were obliged, several years ago, to migrate, whether they would or no, beyond the Mississippi; others now reside on the great island of Manitouline; and some have not yet been able to resign themselves to leaving their ancient territory (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. vi, 69). The Mississakis had their settlements on the northern shore of Lake Huron, not far from Manitouline Island (*Relation of 1648*, chap. x; *id.* of 1671, third part, and chap. ii; La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 60). About 1720, some of their families resided at Fort Frontenac; their villages were also found on the western shore of Lake Ontario, at Niagara, and at Détroit (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 195). Beyond this I have nothing more to say of the Mississakis, save that 'this people, besides the multiplicity of wives



found themselves among the buffaloes. If the Outaouas had been as courageous as the Hurons, and had pursued the enemy, they could without doubt have defeated them, considering their slender supply of food. But the Irroquois, when they had secured abundance of provisions, steadily advanced until they encountered a small Illinoët village;<sup>122</sup> they killed the women and children

and the superstitions which are common to them and to the other savages, are the boldest and most arrogant of all those around us' (*Relation* of 1673, chap. ii). Of the Mikikoués (or Otter People) no other mention is made of them, either in Perrot or anywhere else. The old *Relations*, in especial, say not a word of this tribe. Perhaps some error has slipped into our manuscript, and the copyist may have written Mikikoués instead of Nikikoués — an Algonquin tribe, who dwelt on the north shore of Lake Huron, between the Mississakis and the Amikoués (*Relation* of 1648, chap. x; *id.* of 1658, chap. v). Father Beschefer, too, associates the Nikikoués with the two other peoples whom I have just named (unpublished *Relation* of 1682). It is quite surprising that Perrot does not mention the Amikoués in his narrative, since, according to the *Relation* of 1671 (chap. ii) it was their chief who took the principal part in the victory obtained by the Sauteurs, the Mississakis, and the Otter People over the Iroquois who were returning to their own country after their unsuccessful expedition to the Poutéouatami country. — We likewise read there that these Iroquois were defeated on the lands of these very Amikoués, and that but one of them escaped out of one hundred and twenty. This exploit brought such glory to that chief that, three years after his death, when his son desired to honor his memory by reviving his name, more than sixteen hundred warriors from all the neighboring tribes responded to the son's appeal, and assisted at the feasts celebrated on this occasion (*Relation* of 1671, *ut supra*). — TAILHAN.

<sup>122</sup> Here the text reads *brigade*; but it must be an error for *bourgade*, since La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 55) mentions it as *un petit village d'Illinois*.

— TAILHAN.

"The Illinois [a name with many variants; signifying "the men"] were still, at this epoch, one of the most powerful peoples in New France. Their sixty villages contained twenty thousand warriors, and from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants — not including the Miamis, who could furnish a quota of eight thousand warriors (*Relation* of 1658, chap. v; *id.* of 1660, chap. iii). But from 1667 all was quite changed; those numerous and flourishing villages, dispeopled by war, had been reduced at first to ten, then to two (*Relation* of 1667, chap. xi; *id.* of 1670, chap. xi) — or to eight, according to another *Relation* (that of 1671, third part) — which counted no more than eight or nine thousand inhabitants (*Relation* of 1670, *ut supra*). They spoke a dialect of the Algonquin language, very different from the mother-tongue — but not so much so that the Illinois and the Algonquins could not, with a little practice, understand each other (*Relation* of 1667, chap. xi; *Voyage* of Father Marquette). This great and powerful nation was subdivided into a certain

therein, for the men fled toward their own people, who were not very far from that place. The Illinoëts imme-

number of tribes; here are the names of some among them:" the Kikabous, or Kikapous; the Kaskaskias; the Kaokia; the Tamarois, or Tamarohas; the Kouivakouintanouas; the Negaouichiriniouek (the Negaouich Illinois?), neighbors of the Poutéouatamis; the Peorias; the Mouïngouëna; the Mitchigamias, who of all the Illinois were the most distant toward the south; the Kitchigamich, or Ketchegamins, "who spoke the same language as the Kikapou Illinois, and therefore with some probability can be regarded as belonging to the same stock;" the Maskoutens, or Fire People, classed among the Illinois for the same reason; the Miamis, or Oumiamis (the Algonquin prefix *ou* being equivalent to our article), composed of several distinct peoples. See various references to these peoples and tribes in the *Jesuit Relations*; also in Charlevoix's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 484, and vol. iii, 188, 392; La Potherie's *Histoire*, vol. ii, 261; and *Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. x, 137, 138. "The Illinois extended their raids and their hunting over an immense territory, of which the present state of Illinois represents only a part;" it extended from the Fox River of Wisconsin and Lake Michigan to the Miami and the Ohio Rivers, and westward to the Mississippi, which they occupied from the thirty-third to the fortieth parallel (Marquette). "But these limits were never closely drawn; they varied, to the east and especially the west, at the dictation of events (see *Relation of 1671*, third part)." It was the Sioux (or Nadouessi) "whose continual hostilities seem to have forced the Illinois to their first migration toward Lake Michigan (see *Relation of 1667*, chap. xi)."

The war between the Iroquois and the Illinois (1656-1667) brought on the ruin of the latter people, and those who escaped took refuge beyond the Mississippi. Later (1666) the peace imposed on the Iroquois by the power of France reopened to the Illinois the doors of their own country; but many of them did not profit by the opportunity which was offered to them, or did so quite late. In 1674 there were, as yet, on the banks of the river of the Illinois, only the single tribe of Kaskaskias; they numbered seventy-four lodges and nearly three thousand souls (Marquette, *Voyages*). Seven other tribes rejoined the first one in 1676, and formed with it a village of three hundred and fifty lodges, which contained at least eleven thousand inhabitants (*ibid.*); for among the Illinois four or five fires were combined in each lodge, and each fire was always for two families (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 175). Toward 1693 or 1694 the Illinois people were divided among eleven villages, of which one alone contained three hundred cabins or twelve hundred fires (*ibid.*); but from 1712 these villages were reduced to three, situated at immense distances from one another, in a territory of two thousand square leagues (*id.*, 325, 328). To-day one would seek in vain for a single Illinois savage in the greater part of those vast regions. By a cleverly combined mingling of violence and fraud the United States has taken possession of that territory, and brutally expelled from it its ancient owners (Letter of Father Thébaud, in *Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. xvi, 450). Here again the Anglo-Americans have done what, according to the testimony of the missionaries, they do everywhere else; after having demoralized the savage, and deprived him of his possessions, they have driven

diately assembled their forces, and hastened after the Irroquois, who had no suspicion of an enemy; overtaking the enemy at nightfall, the Illinoëts later attacked them, and slew many of them. Other Illinoët villages, who were hunting at various places in that vicinity, having learned what had occurred, hastened to find their tribesmen, who had just dealt a blow at the Irroquois.

him from his native land as if he were a wild beast (*Missions du diocèse de Québec*, no. xii, 70, 1859). I have previously cited the somewhat unfavorable judgment pronounced over our savages by one of their most zealous missionaries [Father Marest; see reference in note 110]; it is therefore my duty, in strict justice, to acknowledge here that their first apostles paint them in more flattering colors" (see mention of the traits of the Illinois in *Relation* of 1667, chap. xii; *id.* of 1671, chap. iv; Marquette's *Voyages*). In attempting to reconcile these varying opinions, we must "take into account the demoralization produced among these Indians, in half a century, by their relations with the Europeans and by the trade in brandy; and, in the lavish praises of the Illinois by Fathers Allouez and Marquette, must make allowance for the illusions of that charity which believeth all things, hopeth all things, and thinketh no evil, until the last extremity. One finds, nevertheless, in the relation of the second of these missionaries an indication, unfortunately too clear, of the immorality with which our Illinois were later reproached. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to compare the 'mystery' described by Father Marquette (*Voyages*) with what is related of an identical custom, in vogue among other savage peoples, by many historians, both Spanish and French. . . . But these moral infirmities of the Illinois, even as great ones as are supposed, ought not to make us Frenchmen forget the invariable fidelity of these savages to our country. Entering their hearts at the same time as did the Catholic faith, this devotion to France never once deviated, from the end of the seventeenth century to the treaty of Paris (1763), which handed over our North American colonies to England. When our cause was hopelessly lost, and when, in execution of this shameful treaty, the English commissary presented himself (1765) to take possession of Fort Chartres and the country of the Illinois, those Indians could not resign themselves to this peace and this change [of rulers]. The chief of the Kaskaskias, speaking in his own name, and in that of the Missourites and the Osages, his allies, declared to the French commandant that in all their tribes there was not one man who willingly submitted to it." (See his speech in Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iv, chap. xviii.) "Indeed, it was these faithful and devoted allies who, two years before, had sorrowfully repeated to the commandant of Fort Chartres, 'Father, do not abandon thy children; not one Englishman will penetrate as far as this while the red man lives. . . . Our hearts are with the French; we detest the English, and we will kill them all' (*id.*, chap. vii). Would not one say that a secret presentiment made them recognize in these newcomers the approaching authors of their final and irreparable ruin?"

— TAILHAN.



Assembling all their warriors, they encouraged one another, made a hasty march, surprised the enemy, and utterly defeated them in battle; for there were very few of the Irroquois who returned to their own villages. This was the first acquaintance of the Illinoëts with the Irroquois; it proved baneful to them, but they have well avenged themselves for it.

## XV. Flight of the Hurons and Outaoüas into the Micissypy region

In the following year [1656] the Outaoüas descended in a body to Three Rivers. Missionaries were allotted to them: the Hurons had Father Garot, and the Outaoüas had Father Mesnard, with five Frenchmen who accompanied them. Father Garot was slain by the war-party of the Flemish Bastard,<sup>123</sup> who had embarked with the Hurons on the Lake of Two Mountains, where he had caused a fort to be built; but, having allowed the main body of the Outaoüas and Saulteurs (who were much better canoemen than the Hurons) to go ahead, the Irroquois came up with them, although [they had

<sup>123</sup> "Perrot is mistaken; Father Mesnard did not go among the Outaouais until 1660. Father Garreau had for a companion in 1656 Father Dreuillette; and the latter, after the catastrophe on the Lake of Two Mountains, seeing himself abandoned by the savages, returned to the Colony with the few Frenchmen who had followed him (*Relation* of 1656, chap. xv)." Some oversight of the copyist has misplaced the parts of this sentence; but the facts of the case render the sense plain, that Father Garreau had embarked with the Hurons, and that he was slain by the band of the Flemish Bastard, who had built the fort. That noted chief "was son of a Hollander and an Iroquois woman. 'The tribe of Agniers, to whom he belonged through his mother, chose him for one of their chiefs. The Lake of Two Mountains is formed by an expansion of the Outaouais River, near its discharge into the Saint Lawrence. North of this lake extends the seigniory of the same name, belonging to the [Sulpitian] seminary of Montreal. It is in this seigniory that the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice established, near the beginning of the last [i.e., the seventeenth] century, two villages of Christian Iroquois and Algonquins, which still exist to-day, and count a thousand inhabitants." — TAILHAN.



started] far behind the Hurons, defeated them, and took many of them captive. The Irroquois and the French were then at peace. The Flemish Bastard had the body of the father conveyed to Montreal, which at that time was already founded [in 1642]. As soon as he had arrived he was asked why he had fired on the father, but replied that neither he nor his people had killed him. He said that the murderer was a Frenchman, who, having deserted from Montreal, had come to join the Bastard's party at the time when he went to lay ambushes for the Outaouäs, who intended to ascend the River des Prairies. This Frenchman was handed over to the governor and shot to death, for lack of an executioner.<sup>124</sup>

The Flemish Bastard brought many Huron prisoners, whom he tortured by burning their fingers, without any opposition from the side of the French; and when he returned to his own village he spared their lives. They will never forget the manner in which, on that occasion, we abandoned them to the mercy of their enemies. They also will remember forever how little effort the French made to oppose the Irroquois when the latter, in time of peace [May, 1656], carried away the Hurons who dwelt on Orléans Island, and made them pass in canoes before Quebec and Three Rivers, meanwhile [compelling them] to sing, in order to increase their mortification. But in revenge the Outaouäs have since then sought every opportunity to betray the French, although they pretend to be our devoted friends; they treat the French

<sup>124</sup> Perrot is the only one among the early chroniclers of events in New France who has placed on a Frenchman the guilt of having slain Father Garreau; those writers evidently suppressed this fact, so discreditable for any Frenchman. But this murderer is probably the man mentioned in the *Relation* of 1656 (chap. xvi) as a French renegade who had joined the Iroquois, and who by a curious retribution of fate was led, by the dying missionary himself, to repent of his errors; he was afterward betrayed to the French by an Iroquois, taken to Quebec, and executed by the authorities. — TAILHAN.

thus through policy and fear, for they do not trust any people, as will be more fully shown in the conclusion of this memoir.

When all the Outaoüas were dispersed toward the [great] lakes, the Saulteurs and the Missisakis fled northward, and finally to Kionconan [i.e., Keweenaw], for lack of game. Then the Outaoüas, fearing that they were not strong enough to repel the incursions of the Irroquois, who had gained information of the place in which the former had established themselves, sought refuge in the Micissypy region, which is now called Louïsianna. They ascended that river to a place about twelve leagues from the Ouisconching, where they came to another river, which is named for the Ayoës [Iowas]. They followed this stream to its source, and there encountered peoples who received them cordially. But as they did not find, in all that region which they traversed, any place suitable for a settlement—since the country was entirely destitute of woods, and contained only prairies and level plains, although buffaloes and other animals were found there in abundance—they retraced the same route by which they had come; and, having again reached the shores of the Louïsianna River, they continued to ascend it. Before they had gone far, they dispersed in various directions to pursue the chase; I will mention only one of their bands, whom the Scioux encountered, captured, and carried away to their villages. The Scioux, who had no acquaintance with the firearms and other implements which they saw among the strangers—for they themselves use only knives and hatchets of stone and flint<sup>125</sup>—hoped that these new peoples who had come near them would share with them

<sup>125</sup> In the text, *de cousteaux de pierre de moulange, de haches et de cailloux*; this last phrase should probably read, *et de haches de caillou*, as indicating the

the commodities which they possessed; and, believing that the latter were spirits, because they were acquainted with the use of iron – an article which was utterly unlike the stone and other things which they used – conducted them, as I have said, to their own villages, and delivered the prisoners to their own people.

The Outaoüas and Hurons gave the Scioux, in turn, a friendly reception, but did not make them presents of much value. The Scioux returned to their own country, with some small articles which they had received from the Outaoüas, and shared these with their allies in other villages, giving to some hatchets, and to others knives or awls. All those villages sent deputies to those of the Outaoüas; as soon as they arrived there, they began, according to their custom, to weep over every person they met,<sup>126</sup> in order to manifest the lively joy which they felt

materials of the weapons used by the Sioux. The *Pierre de moulange* means *Pierre de meule* or *meulière*, that is, millstone-grit; the former phrase is still in use in Canada with that meaning. — TAILHAN.

Axes of stone were in general use by the tribes of North America, save along the Pacific coast, where specimens are seldom found. They varied from thirty pounds to one ounce in weight, the majority ranging from one to six pounds; they were usually fastened to handles by withes and cords, which were kept in place by grooves or notches cut in the stone. These implements were quickly superseded by the iron axes introduced and furnished to the Indians by the Europeans. — W. H. HOLMES and GERARD FOWKE, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>126</sup> "The Dacotahs, or Sioux, were in the seventeenth century what they are still to-day, one of the most powerful and most numerous savage peoples of North America. They were divided into two great sections, the eastern or sedentary Sioux, and the western or nomadic Sioux. The former inhabited, on both banks of the Upper Mississippi, the territory of which Perrot farther on outlines for us the limits. The old *Relations* of New France designate them under the name Nadoüessiss (Nadoüessiouek, and Nadoüessieux). . . The nomadic Sioux, dispersed through the immense plains of the West to the north of the Missouri, extended their inroads and their hunting as far as the Rocky Mountains. The tribe among them nearest to the Nadoüessieux figures in the *Relation* of 1660 (chap. iii) under the name of Poualaks, or 'warriors.'" "Perrot in his memoir notices only the eastern Sioux (the Nadoüessieux of the *Relations*), and from what he says of them it is easy to judge that that people were greatly superior, in moral qualities, to the various tribes of either the Algonquin or the Huron-Iroquois stock. As brave as any one of those tribes, the Sioux were more faithful to their promises, friends to peace, benevolent and



in meeting them; and they entreated the strangers to have pity on them, and to share with them that iron, which they regarded as a divinity. The Outaoûas, see-

hospitable to strangers, humane to their conquered and captive enemies—to whom they almost always gave their liberty, and whom they did not commence to torture until the law of retaliation (from which a savage never considers himself dispensed) rendered it a sacred duty to them. The *Relations* of New France are, in reference to the Sioux, entirely in accord with Perrot; and their testimony is here all the less suspicious because it concerns a people who were implacable enemies of the tribes who were evangelized by the religious of the Society of Jesus, the authors of those relations." (See the *Relation* of 1667, chap. xii; *id.* of 1671, third part; *id.* of 1674, chap. ix). "To this proved bravery the Sioux—less perfidious than the Iroquois, to whom their courage made them equal—united an inviolable fidelity to their sworn promise, a moderation which did not permit them to attack until after they had been first assailed (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xi), and, in war, a generous conduct far above that of the Hurons and the Algonquins. Satisfied with having obtained the victory, they most often gave freedom to the prisoners taken in battle (*Relation* of 1671, chap. iv). All this will doubtless surprise readers who are accustomed, giving credence to modern writers, to picture to themselves the Sioux under a different aspect. Certainly it is a far cry from these people, such as Perrot and the *Relations* of New France display to us, to the Sioux of the American journals—as cowardly as cruel, as perfidious as vindictive. But as peoples, like individuals, are subject to deplorable transformations, how can one be surprised if the Sioux of to-day have no longer anything in common with those of former times? Perhaps also, in the moment when they are being exterminated in order to punish them for their cruelties, and especially in order to cleanse more quickly the house which others wish to occupy, in the portrait which has been depicted for us the features have been coarsened or distorted and the colors laid on too heavily. Such procedure is much practiced, and the wisdom of nations has long taken it into account."

"The Sioux tilled the soil after the manner of the Hurons; but they cultivated hardly anything besides tobacco and a little maize (*Relation* of 1642, chap. xii). . . . In order that each man might gather his harvest in peace, without encroaching on any other, the Sioux divided among themselves the marshes and the lakes in which the wild oats grew (*Relation* of 1671, chap. iv). As their country was poorly supplied with trees, neither they nor the Poulaks covered their lodges with sheets of bark, as did the savages of the Saint Lawrence; but they used for this elk-skins very well dressed, and so skilfully sewed together that no cold penetrated through them. Some of them, more industrious, built for themselves 'houses of sticky earth [*terre grasse*], very much as the swallows build their nests.' They burned mineral coal (*Relation* of 1660, chap. iii; *id.* of 1667, chap. xii)." Polygamy was in great honor among them, each Sioux having seven or eight wives (*Relation* of 1660, chap. iii). Hardly any other worship was known to them than that of the calumet (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xi). In their battles they used almost exclusively the bow and arrows, and



ing these people weeping over all who approached them, began to feel contempt for them, and regarded them as people far inferior to themselves, and as incapable even of waging war. They gave to the envoys

that with so much skill and rapidity that in a moment the air was full of their darts — 'especially when, after the manner of the Parthians, they turn about while fleeing; for it is then that they shoot their arrows so quickly that they are to be feared no less in their flight than in their attack' (*Relation* of 1671, chap. iv). Finally, their language differs in every way from that of the Hurons and that of the Algonquins (*id.* of 1670 and 1671, *ut supra*). All that has just been said is true of the Poulaks as well as of the Nadoüessieux or sedentary Sioux. Between these different divisions of the one people there never existed more than two points of unlikeness, and those purely accidental: one, that the Nadoüessieux lived in a territory of which the limits were nearly fixed (Perrot, 88); the other, that they had some knowledge of navigation, to which the Poulaks and the rest of the Siouan tribes were strangers." See Father Marest's account in 1712 (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 372).

"Nothing is more difficult than to fix even approximately the figures of the Siouan population in the seventeenth century; all that can be said is, that it must have risen to a very high number. The *Relations*, indeed, assign to the Nadoüessieux forty villages, to the Poulaks at least thirty, and to the Assinipoulaks thirty (*Relation* of 1656, chap. xiv; *id.* of 1658, chap. v; *id.* of 1660, chap. iii; *id.* of 1671, third part) — without mentioning the Ayoës, who very probably belonged to the Siouan people. . . . That admitted, it would be necessary, as a very natural result, to include in the reckoning the Quinipegous or Puans [i.e., the Winnebagoes], a people who were formerly very numerous (*Relation* of 1667, chap. x; *id.* of 1640, chap. x), but, later, almost entirely exterminated by the Illinois (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xii); and they spoke the same language as did the Ayoës or Aiouas (*Relation* of 1676). Even as concerns the eastern Sioux, or Nadoüessieux, the figures given by the *Relations* may be regarded as much below the real numbers. . . . In 1829 a missionary computed at ten thousand the number of men able to bear arms among the Sioux residing in the vicinity of Fort Saint Peter on the upper Mississippi; and at twenty-five or thirty thousand the number of women and children. This latter figure is probably inadequate; it is thirty or forty thousand that he must have meant (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. iv, 536). Another missionary allows to the Sioux only eight thousand souls in all (*id.*, vol. viii, 311, 312); and a third (*id.*, vol. xxiv, 423), three thousand lodges and thirty thousand souls."

—TAILHAN.

The houses of earth mentioned in the *Relation* of 1660 probably refer to the earth lodges constructed by the Omaha, Osage, Pawnee, and other tribes; see description and illustrations of these in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Earth lodge" and "Habitations." In the northwest, and especially in the Dakotas, there are extensive beds of lignite, of good quality; the settlers obtain much fuel from these in some localities, where it can be easily dug from the ground, the strata often outcropping above the surface. — Ed.

a few trifles, such as knives and awls; the Scioux declared that they placed great value on these, lifting their eyes to the sky,<sup>127</sup> and blessing it for having guided to their country these peoples, who were able to furnish them so powerful aid in ameliorating their wretched condition. The Outaoüas fired some guns which they had; and the report of these weapons so terrified the Scioux that they imagined it was the thunder or the lightning, of which the Outaoüas had made themselves masters in order to exterminate whomsoever they would. The Scioux, whenever they encountered the Hurons and Outaoüas, loaded them with endearing terms, and showed the utmost submissiveness, in order to touch them with compassion and obtain from them some benefits; but the Outaoüas had even less esteem for them when they persisted in maintaining before them this humiliating attitude.

The Outaoüas finally decided to select the island called Peléé<sup>128</sup> as the place of their settlement; and they spent several years there in peace, often receiving visits from the Scioux. But on one occasion it happened that a hunting-party of Hurons encountered and slew some Scioux. The Scioux, missing their people, did not know what had become of them; but after a few days they found their corpses, from which the heads had been sev-

<sup>127</sup> Among most of the Indian tribes, the sky was revered not only as the residence of a deity, but (by a sort of personification) as the deity himself, and was often invoked, especially at councils; the sun also was regarded as a deity. See *Jesuit Relations*, vol. x, 159-165, 195, 273, vol. xviii, 211, vol. xxiii, 55, vol. xxiii, 225, vol. xxxix, 15, vol. xlvi, 43, vol. lxviii, 155. — Ed.

<sup>128</sup> "Pelée [i.e., Bald] Island is situated in the Mississippi, three leagues below the mouth of the Sainte-Croix River, and at the entrance to the Lake of Bon-Secours (now Lake Pepin). Its surface was entirely bare of trees, which in early days caused the name to be given to it under which it is designated by Perrot and by Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. iii, 398). — TAILHAN.

Its location was at the upper end of Lake Pepin, opposite Red Wing, Minn. Charlevoix says (*ut supra*): "The French of Canada have often made it the center of their trade in those western regions." — Ed.

ered. Hastily returning to their village, to carry this sad news, they met on the way some Hurons, whom they made prisoners; but when they reached home the chiefs liberated the captives and sent them back to their own people. The Hurons, so rash as to imagine that the Scioux were incapable of resisting them without iron weapons and firearms, conspired with the Outaouäs to undertake a war against them, purposing to drive the Scioux from their own country in order that they themselves might thus secure a greater territory in which to seek their living. The Outaouäs and Hurons accordingly united their forces and marched against the Scioux. They believed that as soon as they appeared the latter would flee, but they were greatly deceived, for the Scioux sustained their attack, and even repulsed them; and, if they had not retreated, they would have been utterly routed by the great number of men who came from other villages to the aid of their allies. The Outaouäs were pursued even to their settlement, where they were obliged to erect a wretched fort; this, however, was sufficient to compel the Scioux to retire, as they did not dare to attack it.

The continual incursions made by the Scioux forced the Outaouäs to flee.<sup>129</sup> They had become acquainted

<sup>129</sup> "Perrot adds no chronological indication to his curious narrative of the Huron and Outaouais migrations. We will endeavor to fill this gap, by having recourse to the contemporaneous *Relations*. In that of 1672 (chap. iv) see first, briefly described, the main events of that flight;" the Hurons, driven from their own country by the Iroquois, fled to Michilimackinac, thence to the islands at the mouth of Green Bay, and finally to the western end of Lake Superior, where also the Ottawas took refuge. Alarmed at the hostile attitude assumed by the Sioux toward them, they resolved to return (1671) to Michilimackinac. "Thus less than twenty years (from 1652 or 1653 to 1671) had been sufficient to bring back the Hurons and the Outaouais to their starting point; for these latter also returned, in 1671, to Manitoualine Island, and later to Saguinan, which they had left at the same time when the Hurons abandoned Missilimackinac (*Relation* of 1671, third part, chap. iv; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 279). The flight of these peoples to the Huron Islands cannot be placed later



with a stream which is called Black River; they entered its waters and, ascending to its source, the Hurons found there a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Outaoüas pushed farther on, and proceeded as far as Lake Superior, where they fixed their abode at Chagouamikon [Chequamegon]. The Scioux, seeing that their enemies had departed, remained quietly, without pursuing them farther; but the

than 1653; for the *Relation* of the following year (of 1654, chap. iv) shows us that they were settled there, and were sending from those distant regions one of their parties to trade at Montréal and Three Rivers. In 1657 the Hurons and the Outaouais, who a few years before had abandoned those islands in order to penetrate farther within the Méchingan of Perrot (now western Michigan and Wisconsin), were residing, the former on the shore of the Bay of Puans, among the Pouteouatamis, where they had victoriously repulsed the attack of the Iroquois; the latter, among the Ouinipegous or Puans, and among the Maloumines (*Relation* of 1658, chap. v). . . . From the beginning of 1660, the Outaouais inhabited Point Chagouamigon, as well as the islands that belong to it on the southern shore of Lake Superior (*Relation* of 1661, chap. iii; *id.* of 1664, chap. i). The Hurons, at the same period, kept themselves in hiding near the sources of the Black River, at six days' journey (forty or fifty leagues) from the same lake, and seven or eight days from the Bay of Puans (*Relation* of 1660, chap. iii). These two peoples were visited in 1659 by two French traders, who pushing farther ahead, formed an alliance with the Sioux (*ibid.*). It is, therefore, between the years 1657 and 1660 that the events related by Perrot must have taken place, from the flight of the Hurons and Outaouais to the Mississippi until their first disputes with the Sioux, followed by a new migration, which was not to be the last one (Perrot, chap. xv). The Hurons were still occupying the same location toward the end of 1661 (*Relation* of 1663, chap. vii) but their sojourn there was not very long. In 1665 Father Allouez found the two tribes reunited at the Point (*Relation* of 1667, chap. iii, vi, vii, viii). Four years later the number of savages at Chagouamigon was fifteen hundred, of whom five hundred were Christian Hurons of the Tobacco tribe. The rest were composed of pagan Hurons and of Algonquins who had accompanied their flight, belonging to the Sinagaux, Kiskakon, and Keinouché Outaouais (*Relation* of 1667, chap. vii; *id.* of 1670, chap. xi). In estimating at forty or fifty leagues the six days' journey which separated Lake Superior from the residence of the Hurons (*Relation* of 1660, chap. iii), I have only applied the rule therefor indicated by Father Dreuilletes in the *Relation* of 1658 (chap. v): 'You will also see the new routes for going to the North Sea [i.e., Hudson Bay] . . . with the distances in leagues, according to the number of days' journeys which the savages spend therein—which I place at fifteen leagues a day in going down-stream, on account of the swiftness of the currents, and seven or eight leagues in going up-stream.' — TAILHAN.



Hurons were not willing to keep the peace, and sent out several hostile bands against the Scioux. These expeditions had very little success; and, moreover, drew upon them frequent raids from the Scioux, which compelled them to abandon their fort, with great loss of their men, and go to join the Outaoüas at Chagouamikon.

As soon as they arrived there, they planned to form a war-party of a hundred men, to march against the Scioux and avenge themselves. It is to be observed that the country where the latter dwell is nothing but lakes and marshes, full of wild oats; these are separated from one another by narrow tongues of land, which extend from one lake to another not more than thirty or forty paces at most, and sometimes five or six, or a little more. These lakes and marshes form a tract more than fifty leagues square, and are traversed by no river save that of Loüis-ianna [the Mississippi]; its course lies through the midst of them, and part of their waters discharge into it. Other waters fall into the Ste. Croix River, which is situated northeast of them, at no great distance. Still other marshes and lakes are situated to the west of the St. Pierre [Peter] River, into which their waters flow. Consequently, the Scioux are inaccessible in so swampy a country, and cannot be destroyed by enemies who have not canoes, as they have, with which to pursue them. Moreover, in those quarters only five or six families live together as one body, forming a small village; and all the others do the same, removed from one another at certain distances, in order to be near enough to be able to lend a helping hand at the first alarm. If any one of these little villages be attacked, the enemy can inflict very little damage upon it, for all its neighbors immediately assemble, and give prompt aid wherever it is needed. Their method of navigation in lakes of this kind

is, to push through<sup>180</sup> the wild oats with their canoes, and, carrying these from lake to lake, compel the fleeing enemy to turn about [and thus bewilder him]; they, meanwhile, pass from one lake to another until they clear them all and reach the firm ground.

The hundred Hurons became involved among these swamps, and without canoes; they were discovered by some Scioux, who hastened to spread the alarm everywhere. That was a numerous people, scattered along all the borders of the marshes, in which they gathered abundance of wild oats; this grain is the food of those people, and tastes better than does rice. More than 3,000 Scioux came together from every side, and besieged the Hurons. The loud noise, the clamor, and the yells with which the air resounded showed them plainly that they were surrounded on all sides; and that their only resource was to make head against the Scioux (who were eagerly striving to discover their location), unless they could find some place by which they could retreat. In this straitened condition, they concluded that they could not do better than to hide among the wild oats, where the water and mud reached their chins. Accordingly, they dispersed in various directions, taking great pains to avoid noise in their progress. The Scioux, who were sharply searching for them, and only longed to meet them in battle, found very few of them, and were persuaded that they themselves were entirely hidden by the wild oats; but they were greatly astonished at seeing only the trail made in leaving the lake, and no trace of the Hurons' entrance.<sup>181</sup> They bethought them of this

<sup>180</sup> In the text we read *devant*, which is apparently a copyist's error for *dedans*. — TAILHAN.

<sup>181</sup> This sentence follows the original text of the Ms., which was, however, printed otherwise by Tailhan, under the impression that the words *sortie* and *entrée* had been transposed by oversight of either the author or the copyist.

device: they stretched across the narrow strips of land [between the lakes] the nets used in capturing beavers; and to these they attached small bells, which they had obtained from the Outaoüas and their allies in the visits which they had made to those tribes, as above related. They divided their forces into numerous detachments, in order to guard all the passages, and watched by day and night, supposing that the Hurons would take the first opportunity to escape from the danger which threatened them. This scheme indeed succeeded; for the Hurons slipped out under cover of the darkness, creeping on all fours, not suspecting this sort of ambushade; they struck their heads against the nets, which they could not escape, and thus set the bells to ringing.<sup>132</sup> The Scioux, lying in ambush, made prisoners of them as soon as they stepped on land. Thus from all that band but one man escaped; he was called in his own language Le Froid ["he who is cold"]. This same man died not a long time ago.<sup>133</sup>

The captives were conducted to the nearest village, where the people from all the others were assembled in order to share among them the prey. It must be observed that the Scioux, although they are not as warlike

Later, in writing his annotations, he concluded that he had made a mistake, and explains the Ms. reading thus: "By a stratagem familiar to savages, and in order the better to throw off the track the Sioux who were pursuing them, the Hurons entered the lakes of wild rice by walking backward, thus leaving only the traces of their departure." — ED.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Radisson's device for the protection of himself and Groseilliers at Chequamegon — "a long cord tyed w<sup>th</sup> some small bells, w<sup>ch</sup> weare sentryes" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xi, 73). — ED.

<sup>133</sup> "This disastrous expedition followed the arrival of the Hurons at Chagouamigon (Perrot, 88), consequently it could not have occurred before 1662. However, it preceded, perhaps by a few years, the visit that the chief of the Sinagaux Outaouais paid to the Sioux in 1665 or 1666 (Perrot, 91 and 99); it is therefore very probable that the defeat of the Hurons by the Sioux belongs to either 1662 or 1663. Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. i, 346) and La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 217, 218) have borrowed from Perrot the narrative of this event, but without endeavoring to assign to it an exact date." — TAILHAN.



or as crafty as the other tribes,<sup>134</sup> are not, like them, cannibals. They eat neither dogs nor human flesh; they are not even as cruel as the other savages, for they do not put to death the captives whom they take from their enemies, except when their own people are burned by the enemy. They were naturally indulgent, and are so now, for they send home the greater number of those whom they have captured. The usual torture which they inflict upon those whom they have doomed to death is, to fasten them to trees or stakes, and let their boys shoot arrows at them; neither the warriors, nor any men, nor the women, took part in this. But, as soon as

<sup>134</sup> "Our Ms. bears here, written over the lines, the following correction: 'It must be observed that the Sioux, although they are not so warlike, are more crafty than the other peoples,' etc. But nothing in Perrot seems to me to necessitate or to authorize this change." The following lines, at first sight, would indicate that the Canadian savages were habitually addicted to cannibalism; but in fact they practiced it only occasionally — and with different motives from those of most cannibals. With this restricting consideration, "it must be acknowledged that the accusation made by Perrot against our savages is entirely well-founded. . . But there is a point which seems to me very worthy of notice; it is the contrast which, in this respect, existed in primitive times between almost all of the peoples in the Mississippi region and all of the other peoples, both savage and civilized, of New France and Mexico. We have previously observed what humanity the Sioux displayed toward their prisoners of war. The numerous tribes of Illinois, who occupied over so vast an extent the valley of the Mississippi below the Sioux, reduced their enemies to slavery and sold them to the neighboring tribes; but it is not known that, before their wars with the Iroquois, they tortured or killed their captives; we are even certain of the contrary (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xi; *Voyages* of Father Marquette, vol. i, section 6; *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 182, 183). If we continue to descend the Mississippi we encounter, after the Illinois and the Natchez, the Houmas, still more gentle and kind to their captives than were the Illinois and the Sioux. When at the end of an expedition with successful result the Houma warriors made their solemn entry into their village, all the women of the tribe came to weep over the conquered, condoling with them for having been captured; and afterward they treated them as well as they did their own children, if not better (Gravier, *Voyage*). . . To return to the peoples of the Mississippi, I must admit that the Natchez condemned to the fire those enemies whom the fate of battle cast into their power (*Lett. édif.*, vol. vii, 26); but we do not know whether this custom — the existence of which was made known to us for the first time only in 1712 — was not of recent institution among them, and the result of retaliation for a long time provoked, as among the Sioux and the Illinois." — TAILHAN.



they saw their own people burned, they resolved to do the same by way of reprisal; even in this, however, they do not behave with as much cruelty as do their enemies—either because some motive of pity or compassion will not permit them to behold such suffering, or because they believe that only despair can make the captives sing during their torments with so much fortitude and bravery, if it may be so called. On this account they speedily kill their captives with clubs.

The Scioux, having shared the prisoners, sent back part of them, and made the others objects for their sport—delivering them, as I said, to their boys to be shot to death with arrows; their bodies were then cast upon the dung-heap. Those whose lives they spared were condemned to see their comrades die, and were then sent home. Having arrived there, they gave a faithful account of all that had occurred, and said that, having seen the numbers of the Scioux, they believed it impossible to destroy them. The Outaoûas listened very attentively to the relations of these new arrivals, but, as they were not very brave warriors, they were not willing to make any hostile attempt; and the Hurons, recognizing the smallness of their numbers, made up their minds to meditate revenge no longer, but to live peaceably at Chagouamikon, [which they did] during several years. In all that time they were not molested by the Scioux, who gave all their attention to waging war against the Kiristinons [Crees], the Assiniboûles, and all the nations of the north; they ruined those tribes, and have been in turn ruined by them. For all those tribes are, at the present time, reduced to very small numbers: the Scioux, who formerly had more than seven or eight thousand men, seem to be those who travel by canoe,<sup>135</sup>

<sup>135</sup> "The text of Perrot here seems to me to be so badly treated that I do not even attempt to discover the real meaning. All that I think I understand in

instead of which the other tribes of the prairies cannot all together form, to-day, a body of more than a hundred men or so, at most. It is true that the Renards, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikapous have greatly contributed to defend them, and not the other tribes.

Father Mesnard,<sup>186</sup> who had been assigned to the

this sentence is, that the Sioux — not only those who travel by canoe, but those of the plains — destroyed their enemies, but not without themselves experiencing losses so considerable that they were reduced almost to nothing.” — TAILHAN.

“Immediately in touch with the skin-boat countries all around the Arctic, from Labrador to Kodiak in Alaska and southward to the line of the white birch, eastward of the Rocky Mountains, and including the country of the great lakes, existed the birch-bark canoe. With framework of light spruce wood, the covering or sheathing of bits of tough bark sewed together and made watertight by means of melted pitch, these boats are interesting subjects of study, as the exigencies of travel and portage, the quality of the material, and traditional ideas produce different forms in different areas. . . . From the northern boundary of the United States (at least from the streams emptying into the St. Lawrence), southward along the Atlantic slope, dugout canoes, or pirogues, were the instruments of navigation. On the Missouri River and elsewhere a small tub-shaped craft of willow frame covered with rawhide, with no division of bow or stern, locally known as the bull-boat, was used by Sioux, Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa women for carrying their goods down or across the rivers. It was so light that when one was emptied a woman could take it on her back and make her way across the land.” — OTIS T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The name Missouri is generally understood to mean “great muddy,” referring to the turbid waters of the river Missouri; but an interesting statement is made by Thomas Forsyth on this point, among some scattered memoranda in the book containing his “Memoir on the Sac and Fox Indians” (*q.v.*, *post*, vol. II). He says: “Missouri is a corruption of the Indian word Miss-sou-ly i.e., Canoe, and that nation of Indians were called by other Indians (particularly the Ninne-ways [Illinois] Indians who resided east of the Mississippi) Miss-sou-li-au, that is ‘Canoe men,’ as they done all their travelling in canoes.” — Ed.

<sup>186</sup> René Ménard was born at Paris in 1604 or 1605, and entered the Jesuit order in 1624; he came to Canada in 1640, and spent the next nine years as a missionary to the Hurons (in their ancient abode near Georgian Bay). After those Indians were driven westward by the Iroquois in 1649, Ménard was stationed at Three Rivers, Canada, during some seven years, and then spent two years among the Iroquois. In 1660 he was sent from Montreal with a party of Ottawas to their home on Lake Superior, and spent the winter with them, where he suffered great hardships and was harshly treated by the Indians. In the summer of 1661, hearing that some Hurons were encamped near the headwaters of Black River in Wisconsin, he set out to visit them; but near the end of the journey he lost his way and was seen no more — probably dying of hunger in the forest, or slain by some Indian. See *Jesuit Relations*, vol. xviii, 256, 257,

Outaoüas [1660] as a missionary, accompanied by some Frenchmen who were going to trade with that people, was abandoned by all the men whom he had with him—excepting one, who even until death rendered to the father all the services and aid that he could look for. This father followed the Outaoüas to the lake of the Illinoëts, and in their flight into the Louïsianna region even beyond the Black River.

It was there that only one solitary Frenchman remained as companion to this missionary, and that all the others left him. This Frenchman, I say, carefully followed the route and made portages in the same places as did the Outaoüas, never turning aside from the same river that they followed. One day [in August, 1661] he was in a swift current, which swept him away in his canoe; in order to aid him the father left his own canoe, and did not take the right path to reach him. The father entered a path that had been trodden by the [wild] animals, and, attempting to regain the right one, became entangled in a labyrinth of trees and lost his way. The Frenchman, after he had with great difficulty ascended that rapid, waited for the good father; and, as the latter did not come, he resolved to go in search of him. In the woods he called to the father, shouting as loudly as he could, for several days, hoping to find him, but without avail. On the way, however, he encountered a Sakis who was carrying the missionary's kettle, and who told his news to the Frenchman—assuring the latter that he had found the father's tracks far inland [from the river], but that he had not seen the father himself. He said that he had also found the tracks of several other persons, who were going toward the Scioux; and he even declared that he thought the Scioux



must have killed the father, or that he had been captured by them. In fact, the missionary's breviary and cassock were found, several years afterward, among that people, who displayed those articles at their feasts, consecrating to them their best viands.

The Outaoüas, having settled at Chagouamikon, there applied themselves to the cultivation of Indian corn and squashes, on which, with the fish they could catch, they subsisted. They searched along the lake to find whether other tribes were there, and encountered the Saulteurs who had fled northwards, and with them some Frenchmen, who had followed them to Chagouamikon in order to settle there. Part of the Saulteurs had gone toward Kionconan [Keweenaw], and reported that they had seen many tribes; that beavers were exceedingly abundant there; that they did not all return together because they had left their people at the north; that the latter intended to dwell here, but without a fixed residence, purposing to roam in all directions; and that the Nepissings and Amikouets were at Alimibegon—

At these tidings, the Outaoüas went away toward the north, and sought to carry on trade\* with those tribes [1662], who gave them all their beaver robes for old

\* "Evidences of widespread commerce and rude media of exchange in North America are found in ancient shell-heaps, mounds, and graves, the objects having passed from hand to hand often many times. Overland, this trade was done on foot, the only domestic animal for long-distance transportation being the dog, used as a pack beast and for the travois and the sled. In this respect the north temperate zone of America was in marvelous contrast with the same latitudes of the Old World, where most of the commercial animals originated." But the lack of animals was made up by using the water routes, especially the great river-systems, navigable for canoes, in which neighboring waters are connected for traffic by easy portages. "The North American continent is divided into culture areas in a way conducive to primitive commerce. Certain resources of particular areas were in universal demand, such as copper, jade, soapstone, obsidian, mica, paint stones, and shells for decoration and money, as dentalium, abalone, conus, olivella, and clam shells." The Atlantic slope from Labrador to Georgia, the special home of Algonquian and Iroquoian tribes, produced abundance of animal life, and the salt-water bays and inlets yielded marine creatures



knives, blunted awls, wretched nets, and kettles used until they were past service. For these they were most humbly thanked; and those people declared that they were under great obligations to the Outaoüas for having had compassion upon them and having shared with them the merchandise which they had obtained from the French. In acknowledgment of this, they presented to them many packages of peltries, hoping that their visitors would not fail to come to them every year, and to bring them the like aid in trade-goods. They assured the Outaoüas, at parting, that they would go on a hunting expedition [to make ready] for their coming; that they would be present, without fail, at the rendezvous agreed upon; and that they would surely wait for them there.

In the following year [1663] the Outaoüas and all the and aquatic birds in profusion, for food supplies, at the same time stimulating easy transportation and commerce. "The great lakes and the St. Lawrence, moreover, placed the tribes about them in touch with the copper mines of Lake Superior. Through this enlarging influence the Iroquois were ennobled and became the leading family of this area. A medium of exchange was invented in the shape of wampum, made from clam shells. The mounds of the southern portion of this slope reveal artifacts of copper, obsidian, and shell, which must have been transported commercially from afar along the water highways in birch-bark canoes and in dugouts. The Mississippi area was a vast receiving depot of commerce, having easy touch with other areas about it by means of portages between the headwaters of innumerable streams," which connected it with those areas from Chesapeake Bay to Columbia River. "The mounds reveal dentalium shells from the Pacific, obsidian from the Rockies, copper from Lake Superior, pipes of catlinite and black steatite from Minnesota and Canada, and objects from the Atlantic. . . Commerce was greatly stimulated through the coming of the whites by the introduction of domestic animals, especially horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats, poultry; by the vastly enlarged demand for skins of animals, ivory, fish, and native manufactures; by offering in exchange iron tools and implements, woven goods, and other European products desired by the Indians. The effects of this stimulated trade were profound, for both good and evil. Indians were drawn far from home. The Iroquois, for example, traveled with the fur traders into northwestern Canada. Many kinds of Indian handiwork have entered into world commerce. . . In ancient times there were intertribal laws of commerce, and to its agents were guaranteed freedom and safety." — OTIS T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

other tribes who were trading with the French were going down in a body to Quebec. They did so not without fear, for they imagined that the Irroquois were in ambuscade everywhere. However, they did not encounter the enemy until they reached Cape Massacre (which is the locality of the latest land-grants),<sup>1</sup> below Saint Ours; and in that place there were sixteen Irroquois, who carried away an [Algonkin] canoe, and eight men who were paddling it, in the sight of all the Outaouä fleet. This fleet, I say, very far from giving chase to so weak an enemy, was on the point of returning home, and abandoning their own [cargo of] peltries as well as that which the Frenchmen had shipped with them. It is certain that the French had much difficulty in dissuading them from this idea, and that without [this effort] they would have carried out the resolution that they had made to return directly home. On their arrival at Quebec, the chief of the Outaouäs was put in prison, with irons on his feet, for having abandoned the missionary who had lost his way. All his people gave valuable presents in order to have him set at liberty, and as soon as they obtained him they traded their peltries and returned to their own village, with two Frenchmen whom they carried with them.

At the end of two years [1665] they came down to the Colony to get the articles which they needed. They were overtaken, at the portage of the Calumets, by a party of Irroquois who were waiting for them, where the latter had built a wretched fort of stakes—which might have been torn down with the hands if the Outaouäs had had the courage to approach it, since the stakes were not very heavy. Their only endeavor was to fell some trees upon the fort, but this was unsuccessful, so they invested it. After they had been thus besieged

during five days, without being taken, the Irroquois held a parley with the Outaoüas, and told them to continue their journey in entire safety, protesting that they would not follow them. But the latter did not place much confidence in this, and came very near throwing their peltries on the ground, and likewise abandoning those of the Frenchmen who had embarked with them, whom the Outaoüas had carried [to the upper country] in the preceding years. They were exhorted to do nothing of that sort, and the men from the Colony induced them by liberal promises to carry their merchandise thither. By dint of urging, they consented to go down to Three Rivers, on the way casting into the river the greater part of their own peltries, in order to save those of the Frenchmen—who, having received what belonged to them, hid themselves until the departure of the savages. This trick drew upon them a thousand reproaches and insults from the Outaoüas.

In pointing out to you that the Hurons, when they abandoned their own country [dispersed]—some to return to the [French] colony, and the others to find a refuge farther on—I neglected to state that those who went down to the Colony [1650] had for their missionary, Father l'Allemand,<sup>137</sup> and that a detachment of French soldiers was designated to receive them. Be-

<sup>137</sup> "The remnants of the Huron missions were conducted to Québec by Father Paul Ragueneau; no Father Lallemand figures in the narratives of that sorrowful migration (*Relation* of 1650, chap. viii, ix). Neither the *Relation* of 1650 nor Charlevoix alludes to the misadventure of the father charged with guiding to Québec the fugitive Hurons; Perrot alone has preserved for us the memory of it. But the silence of the former and the error into which the latter has fallen as to the name of the missionary who was ill-treated by Le Borgne of the island, are not sufficient grounds for entirely rejecting the story of our author. The Creuse River is one of the numerous affluents of the Outaouais; a little below its mouth is encountered the island of Allumettes (called also Le Borgne's Island, for the reason assigned by the author), and still farther down the island of Grand Calumet, and the rapids and the portage of the same name."



tween Creuse River and the Calumets there is a large island, commonly named Isle du Borgne, otherwise called Isle des Allumettes. It is named Isle du Borgne because the chief of the Algonkin village which was established there was a one-eyed man. He had under his command there four hundred warriors, and was regarded as the terror of all the peoples, even of the Irroquois. This chief gathered a certain toll from all travelers who went down to the French colony, for permission to pass by that place, and without it he would not allow them to go any farther. It was therefore necessary to submit to his demands, whether ascending or descending [the river]; and in order to find him one was obliged to go by way of the main channel, which is toward the south of the island; the lesser channel, which is much shorter, is at the north. When the Hurons reached the upper end of the island, they intended to pass by the village, according to custom, to wait upon the chief and ask his permission to pass by [his village]; but Father l'Allemand told them that the French, being masters of the country, were not obliged to do that, and persuaded them to follow the small channel. Le Borgne was soon informed of this, and sent all his warriors to bring all the Hurons to the village; and after they were asked the reason why they had planned to pass without his permission they excused themselves by saying that it was Father l'Allemand who had prevented them from asking it, and that he had made them believe that the French were the masters of the nations. Le Borgne seized Father l'Allemand and had him suspended from a tree by the arm-pits, telling him that the French were not the masters of his country; and that in it he alone was acknowledged as chief, and they [all] were under his authority.



In the following year he went down to the Colony, making his men carry him into and out of his canoe, and never taking a step without being escorted by his guards; but that did not prevent him from being arrested and placed in a dungeon. The savages of his following tried to make some disturbance, in order to get him out of prison; but the authorities immediately put themselves on the defensive, and sent word to the savages to behave themselves. In short, the only attitude that they could take was that of submission, and of humiliating themselves with offers of presents in order to obtain the freedom of their chief, who was released a few days afterward.

✓ See what the French accomplished in the first establishment of the Colony, although it was then of very little importance in the world. They have been able to preserve and maintain the glory of the nation against the savages (who were incomparably stronger and more numerous at that time than they are now), since, if I dare say it, we were their masters. Did we not oblige them to recognize this by valuable presents, which were acknowledged only by very ordinary ones? and did not we even inform them, in offering these, that it was done only through compassion for their miserable condition? [On the other hand; in this present time of ours they desire to dominate us and be our superiors; they even regard us as people who are in some manner dependent on them. I will explain what has given rise to this presumption [of theirs], and how it will be difficult to remove it from their minds.

✓ The Outaoûas and other tribes lived peaceably for many years in the country where they had taken refuge to escape from being annoyed by the Scioux. An Irroquois party came one day to Sault-Sainte-Marie [1662],

to look for a village to eat; they were confident that, having carried terror among all the other savages, whom they had driven from their native lands, they would make themselves feared as soon as they came in sight. The hundred Irroquois men who composed this party went above Sault-Sainte-Marie, and proceeded to encamp at the mouth of Lake Superior, five leagues or thereabout from the rapids; and there they descried fires along the high hills at the north, not far distant from them; they sent scouts in that direction, to ascertain who might be there.

Some Saulteurs, Outaoüas, Nepissings, and Amikouëts had left their settlement and come hither to hunt elk in the neighborhood of this Sault, and to carry on their fishing for the great whitefish, or salmon, which they catch there in abundance, in the midst of the boiling waters of those rapids. Hardly any place is known where this fish is so large or so fat as those which are found here. These people were scattered about, hunting, when one of them perceived the smoke from the camp of the Irroquois. They gave warning to one another, and rallied together to the number of a hundred men. They elected for chief of their party a Saulteur, who well deserved to be thus honored; for he had a thorough knowledge of the region where they were, having lived in it before the war with the Irroquois.

This chief first of all sent out a canoe to reconnoiter, which was seen by the Irroquois who had been detailed for the same purpose; but the latter, believing that they had not been perceived, remained motionless, for fear of failing in their [intended] attack, and apprehensive that the Algonkins, if these happened to escape from their clutches, would go to warn the entire village, whose people would immediately take to flight. The

Saulteurs advanced, and proceeded as far as the camp of the Irroquois without being discovered; a very dense forest favored them, so that they had opportunity to count the enemy and the women whom they had with them. The intention and plan of the people who were encamped there was, to carry away the [inhabitants of the] villages, one place after another, remaining in each [long enough] to consume the provisions which they would find there, and doing the same with regard to the others.

The scouting party of the Saulteurs, having succeeded therein, returned to their camp to report the discovery that they had just made. Their people immediately embarked, and proceeded all night without being able to reach the place where the Irroquois were; they passed it, however, in a very thick fog, without being perceived by any one. They had gained knowledge of a little cove, quite deep, the head of which was in the rear of the [Irroquois] camp; they gained that location, and concluded that they must defer the attack on the enemy until the next day. During the night they made their approaches, and posted themselves on a small but steep bank of earth, some five or six feet high, at the base of which were the tents of the Irroquois, who were sleeping very tranquilly. Their dogs, scenting the ambushed Saulteurs, were beguiled by a little meat that was thrown to them, in order to prevent them from barking; and when the light of day began to appear sufficiently for discharging their arrows with effect, the assailants uttered their usual war-cries. The Irroquois awoke, and, trying to hasten to seize their arms, they were pierced by the shots that were fired at them from every side, and were forced to face about by the enormous number of arrows that were showered upon them. When



the Saulteurs had finished shooting them (I mean the men), they leaped down from the bank, [and] entered the tents of their enemies, with clubs in their hands. It was then that the Saulteur youth gave way, and fled toward their canoes, while the men dealt their blows everywhere, and one could know by their yells whenever they killed an Irroquois. Those who tried to flee toward the shore were fiercely attacked; the Saulteur youth, who had not seconded their elders in the fight, regained their courage when they heard the cries of victory uttered by the latter, and rushed to meet those Irroquois who had been routed, and finished the slaughter, none of the enemy escaping. You see how complete their victory was.<sup>138</sup>

The Irroquois who had been sent out as scouts returned to their camp a few days after this defeat, expecting to join their people there; but when they found only headless corpses on the ground, and the bones of those whose flesh had been eaten, they made diligent haste to carry back to their own country this dismal news. It is said that the Irroquois have not dared since that time to enter the Lake Superior [country]; but in truth they have never set any limits [to their operations] in waging war, and, as pitiless man-eaters, they have always taken pleasure in drinking the blood and eating the flesh of all the different tribes, going to seek their prey even to the confines of America.

After the defeat of the Irroquois, the Saulteurs and their companions returned in triumph to Kionconan and Chagouamikon. They dwelt there in peace always, until some Hurons who had gone to hunt on the borders of the Scioux country (for Chagouamikon is not far away

<sup>138</sup> "The *Relation* of 1663 (chap. iv) ascribes all the honor of this victory to the Sauteurs, and informs us, besides, that the Irroquois war-party was composed of Agniers and Onneiouths" [i.e., Mohawks and Oneidas]. — TAILHAN.



from there), cutting across the country in a straight line, [a distance of] fifty to sixty leagues, [captured some of the Scioux], whom they carried away to the [Saulteur] villages alive, as they were not desirous of killing them. The people received these captives very kindly, and especially the Outaoüas, who loaded them with presents, Although they did not seem very appreciative of their welcome, it is certain that they would have been thrown into the kettle if it had not been for the Outaoüas. When the Scioux wished to return home, Sinagos, the Outaoüa chief, accompanied them [1665-1666], with his men and four Frenchmen. On their arrival in the Scioux country, and during all the time that they spent there, many kind attentions were offered to them; but they did not bring back a large stock of peltries, because those people are accustomed to roast their beavers [whole], in order to eat them.

Honors were heaped on Chief Sinagos, and they sang the calumet<sup>189</sup> for him—which is one of the notable

<sup>189</sup> See description of the calumet in Marquette's *Récit de Voyages* (section 6). "To employ the calumet for 'talking with strangers,' was the same as what Perrot calls here 'singing the calumet to them.' Observe how the Ayoës, allies of the Sioux, sang it to our author" (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 185). "The song or dance of the calumet was also held in great honor among the Illinois;" see Father Allouez's account of it in *Relation* of 1667, chap. xi. Cf. Marquette's *Voyages*, vol. i, section 6; this has been reproduced almost textually by La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 16-20). — TAILHAN.

Calumet (a Norman-French word, originally derived from Low Lat. *calamellus*, dimin. of *calamus*, "reed"): "Either one of two highly symbolic shafts of reed or wood, about two inches broad, one-fourth inch thick, and eighteen inches to four feet long—the one representing the male, the other the female shaft, usually perforated for a pathway for the breath or spirit, painted with diverse symbolic colors and adorned with various symbolic objects, and which may or may not have a pipe bowl to contain tobacco for making a sacred offering of its benevolent smoke to the gods. In modern usage the term usually includes the pipe. Its coloring and degree of adornment varied somewhat from tribe to tribe, and were largely governed by the occasion for which the calumet was used. From the meager descriptions of the calumet and its uses it would seem that it has a ceremonially symbolic history independent of that of the pipe; and that when the pipe became an altar, by its employment for burning

 <p>ni nu ha ni nu na ha ni</p>	 <p>ni nu a nu a nu</p>
 <p>ni nu ha ni na ni on</p>	 <p>han no juo nun ti va mi</p>
 <p>ni nu na ha ni nu na</p>	 <p>tu de pi ni pi ni</p>
 <p>ha ni ni na ha ni</p>	 <p>hie at hut cha le ma chi</p>
 <p>ho ho ni nu ha ni</p>	 <p>mi ma ha mi chan de</p>
 <p>ni na ha ni ni nu ha ni</p>	 <p>ni chan de punt pi ni he</p>
 <p>ha nu han no juo at chie cha</p>	 <p>at hut cha han go be he he he</p>

# CALUMET SONG



marks of distinction conferred by them, for they render him who has had that honor a son of the tribe, and naturalize him as such. When the calumet is presented and sung to him, obedience is due to him from the people of the tribe. The calumet constrains and pledges those who have sung it to follow to war the man in whose honor it has been sung; but the same obligation

sacrificial tobacco to the gods, convenience and convention united the already highly symbolic calumet shafts and the sacrificial tobacco altar, the pipe-bowl; hence it became one of the most profoundly sacred objects known to the Indians of northern America. . . . The calumet was employed by ambassadors and travelers as a passport; it was used in ceremonies designed to conciliate foreign and hostile nations and to conclude lasting peace to ratify the alliance of friendly tribes; to secure favorable weather for journeys; to bring needed rain; and to attest contracts and treaties which could not be violated without incurring the wrath of the gods. The use of the calumet was inculcated by religious precept and example. A chant and a dance have become known as the chant and the dance of the calumet; together they were employed as an invocation to one or more of the gods. . . . The dance and the chant were rather in honor of the calumet than with the calumet. . . . J. O. Dorsey asserts that the Omaha and cognate names for this dance and chant signify 'to make sacred kinship,' but not 'to dance.' This is the key to the esoteric significance of the use of the calumet. The one for whom the dance for the calumet was performed became thereby the adopted son of the performer. . . . From Dorsey's account of the Omaha calumets it is evident that they are together the most highly organized emblems known to religious observances anywhere; and it is further in evidence that the pipe is an accessory rather than the dominant or chief object in this highly complex synthetic symbol of the source, reproduction and conservation of life. . . . By smoking together in the calumet the contracting parties intend to invoke the sun and the other gods as witnesses to the mutual obligations assumed by the parties, and as a guaranty the one to the other that they shall be fulfilled. This is accomplished by blowing the smoke toward the sky, the four world-quarters, and the earth, with a suitable invocation. . . . There were calumets for commerce and trade and for other social and political purposes, but the most important were those designed for war and those for peace and brotherhood. . . . The use of the calumet, sometimes called 'peace pipe' and 'war pipe,' was widespread in the Mississippi Valley generally," from the Chippewa and Cheyenne in the north to the Choctaw and Natchez in the south; "in the Ohio and St. Lawrence Valleys and southward its use is not so definitely shown." — J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

A document written (1744) by the Jesuit missionary Jacques Eustache le Sueur states that the calumet dance was introduced in 1720 by emissaries from the Foxes among his Abenaki converts on the St. Lawrence, in order to seduce the latter from their French alliance; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xvii, 194-200. — ED.



does not rest upon him. The calumet halts the warriors belonging to the tribe of those who have sung it, and arrests the vengeance which they could lawfully take for their tribesmen who have been slain. The calumet also compels the suspension of hostilities and secures the reception of deputies from hostile tribes who undertake to visit those whose people have been recently slain by theirs. It is, in one word, the calumet which has authority to confirm everything, and which renders solemn oaths binding. [The savages believe that the sun gave it to the Panys, and that since then it has been communicated from village to village as far as the Outaouäs.] They have so much respect and veneration for it that he who has violated the law of the calumet is regarded by them as disloyal and traitorous; they assert that he has committed a crime which cannot be pardoned. In former times this was the obstinate contention of the savages, and they are still of the same opinion; but that does not hinder them from committing acts of treachery while employing the calumet. Those of the prairies have the utmost attachment for it, and regard it as a sacred thing. Never did they betray the pledge that they had given to those who sang it, when that nation dealt a blow against their own — unless he who had sung it should perfidiously take part in the attack made upon them. That would be the basest of all traitorous acts, because it would break the calumet in pieces and disrupt the union which had been contracted through its agency.

I have just said that the Scioux sang the calumet to Chief Sinagos; this ceremony was performed in their villages with authority and solemnity. All the chiefs were present, and gave their consent to an inviolable peace. After that solemnity, Chief Sinagos, with his people and the Frenchmen who had gone with him, re-

turned to Chagouamikon, assuring the Scioux that he would revisit them the following year. This he failed to do, even in the second year afterward; and the Scioux did not know what had caused him to break his promise. It happened, however [1669-1670], that some Hurons, having gone to hunt far toward the Scioux country, were captured by some young men of that nation, and taken to their village. The chief, who had sung the calumet to Sinagos, was greatly incensed at seeing these prisoners, and made it his business to protect them; he almost attacked those who had captured them, and nearly caused war between his villages and theirs. He took possession of the captives, and set them at liberty. On the next day, this chief sent one of them to Chagouamikon, in order to assure the Hurons that he had not been to blame in the late affair; that the attack had been made by some misguided young men, who were not even of his own tribe; and that in a few days he himself would conduct to their homes the captives whom he had retained in his village. That Huron, whom he had sent to Chagouamikon to assure his tribesmen of the Scioux chief's sincere good-will, told them—either because he chose to lie, or because some one instigated him to do so—that the Scioux had made prisoners of him and his companions; that he had fortunately escaped from their hands; and that he did not know, since his departure, whether his comrades were still alive or had been put to death.

The Scioux chief who had sung the calumet to Sinagos chose to go in person to restore the Huron captives to their people. He departed from his village with them; but when they came near Chagouamikon they deserted him. Having reached their friends, they declared that they had just escaped from death by flight. The

Scioux chief, not seeing those persons the next morning, was much surprised; he nevertheless persisted in his resolution and continued on his way, reaching the village on the same day. Not daring, however, to go among the Hurons, whom he distrusted, he entered the cabin of Chief Sinagos, to whom he had sung the calumet, who, with all the Outaoüas, received him very cordially. He explained to them that he had set the Hurons free; he had four companions, including a woman. The Hurons—crafty, and the most treacherous of all the savage tribes—when they could not persuade the Outaoüas to deliver the Scioux to them, concluded to see what could be done by presents; and by the agency of these they gained over Chief Sinagos, whose house the Scioux had entered. Such was their success that they corrupted him; and all the Outaoüas, following his example, were so carried away that they had the inhumanity to throw the Scioux into the kettle and eat them. At the same time, abandoning their villages, they went to live at Michillimakinak and Manitoaletz [1670-1671]. The next year they went down to Montreal, and bought, in exchange for their peltries, only guns and munitions of war—intending to march against the Scioux, build a fort in their country, and wage war against them during the entire winter. Returning home after this trading expedition, they hastily gathered in their grain-crops, and all departed in a body to march against the Scioux. Their forces were increased along the route; for Chief Sinagos had for a brother-in-law the chief of the Sakis, who resided at the Bay; and the Poutéouatamis and the Renards were his allies. As the Outaoüas had brought with them all the goods which they had obtained in trade with the French, they made presents of these to the Poutéouatamis, Sakis, and Re-



nards, who formed a body of over a thousand men, all having guns or other powerful weapons of defense.

As soon as they arrived in the Scioux country, they fell upon some little villages, putting the men to flight and carrying away the women and children whom they found there. This blow was so quickly dealt that they had not time to reconnoiter or to erect fortifications. The fugitives quickly carried the alarm to the neighboring villages, the men of which hastened in crowds to fall upon their enemies, and so vigorously attacked them that they took to flight, and abandoned the fort which they had commenced. The Scioux pursued them without intermission, and slew them in great numbers, for their terror was so overwhelming that in their flight they had thrown away their weapons; besides, they were stripped of all their belongings, and some of them had only a wretched deerskin for covering. In a word, nearly all of them perished—by fighting, by hunger, or by the rigor of the climate. The Renards, the Kiskaouets,<sup>140</sup> and the Poutéouatamis, tribes less inured to war than the others, were the only ones whose loss was not so great in this enterprise; and that because they took to their heels at the beginning of the combat. The Hurons, the Sinagos, and the Sakis distinguished themselves on this occasion and, by the courageous resistance that they made, greatly aided the fugitives by giving them time to get the start of the enemy. At the end, the disorder among them was so great that they ate one another [1671-1672].

The two chiefs of the party were made prisoners, and Sinagos was recognized as the man to whom they had sung the calumet; they reproached him with his perfidy

<sup>140</sup> The Kishkakons, the Bear clan of the Ottawas. In 1658 they were dwelling near the mouth of Green Bay, twenty years later at Mackinac; still later they lived along the St. Mary's River; and in 1736 they were divided between Mackinac and Detroit. — Ed.



in having eaten the very man who had adopted him into his own nation. They were, however, unwilling to burn either him or his brother-in-law; but they made him go to a repast, and, cutting pieces of flesh from his thighs and all other parts of his body, broiled these and gave them to him to eat—informing Sinagos that, as he had eaten so much human flesh and shown himself so greedy for it, he might now satiate himself upon it by eating his own. His brother-in-law received the same treatment; and this was all the nourishment that they received until they died. As for the other prisoners, they were all shot to death with arrows, except a Pany<sup>141</sup> who belonged to the chief of those savages; and he was sent back to his own country that he might faithfully report what he had seen and the justice that had been administered.<sup>142</sup>

## XVI. War of the Algonkins against the Irroquois

I will here resume the detailed account which I interrupted, concerning the war of the Algonkins against the Irroquois.

### I. *The Irroquois Attack the Algonkins and the French*

The Irroquois, having routed the Hurons and driven away many tribes into distant regions, beheld themselves

<sup>141</sup> Captives taken in war were generally enslaved, and these slaves were also transferred to the whites, especially to the French. So many were obtained (largely by the Illinois) from the Pawnees that the Indian slaves were everywhere known as the Panis. Slavery in Canada was not legally abolished until 1834 — ED.

<sup>142</sup> "Two reasons have induced me to place in 1665-1666 the coming of the Sioux to Chagouamigon, followed by their return to their own country with the chief of the Sinagaux and the four Frenchmen of whom Perrot speaks: The first is, that in that year some Sioux certainly visited Point de Saint-Esprit (*Relation* of 1667, chap. xii); the second, that according to the relation of events, as it is given by our author, at least four or five years elapsed between this

masters of all the surrounding territories, and had no more cause for fear, save the Algonkins. They therefore devoted themselves solely to the destruction of that people, and went down into their country in order to wage war there. But the Algonkins, as they did not feel strong enough to defend themselves against those who came to attack them, sought an asylum in the [French] colony; they were pursued thither. Then the French united with the Hurons who had escaped from the carnage which had been made in their ancient fatherland, and took up the cause of the Algonkins. During this entire war many detachments were sent out, both small and large, who sometimes were victorious and sometimes defeated. When the Irroquois, treacherous and crafty, saw that they could not easily succeed in their schemes, they demanded peace. But, even though the negotiations on this subject were well advanced, they did not cease to commit acts of hostility and to kill with clubs, when they were least expected; they took the ground that the peace concerned only one of their villages, and that consequently all the others could undoubtedly wage war as before. We have even known the people of a village with which we were at peace to become members of those villages who were not thus peaceable. If they found themselves captives, and were asked why they joined our enemies, they would say that, being present by chance in a village where a war-party was being formed, they had enlisted with the chief who commanded it. These reasons were only specious ones, and rendered it very evident that they were steadily persisting in their design of waging war.

visit and the abandonment of Chagouamigon in 1670-1671 by the Hurons and Ottawas. The *Relations* of New France mention in various places the quarrels of these two latter tribes with the Sioux; but they do not enter at all into detail." — TAILHAN.

Many treaties of peace of this sort have been made, in which the Algonkins have never consented to be included, being persuaded of the malignancy and bad faith of the Irroquois, who have never had any other idea than that of absolutely destroying them. They have nevertheless consented to some peaces that have been made; but, to tell the truth, there has never been any real benefit from these, since the Irroquois have very often used them the better to cover up their game, and to deal their blows with more security.

## II. *Defeat of the Hurons*

The treaty of peace being made between the Algonkins and the Irroquois, the latter made up from all their villages a large expedition to come to wage war in the Colony, and to carry away the Hurons settled in a village at the extremity of the island of Orléans, who had some cultivated lands there. It must be understood that there was not then any French settlement from Three Rivers to Cap Rouge; and that this party came down by the Richelieu River, which now is called Sorel. The Irroquois went past Three Rivers at night, without being discovered, and descended [the river] to Quebec, where they had the same fortune; and then they proceeded toward the lands of the Hurons, in order to prepare their ambuscades there. They resolved to wait until the next day [May 18, 1656], that they might more completely take the Hurons by surprise when the latter went out to work on their lands—because at that time they would all be outside of their fort. Those poor people, who had not the least expectation of this blow, and who relied upon the peace which existed between them and the Irroquois, at the usual hour went out, both men and women, to work on their lands; for among that

people, who are naturally industrious, the men assist the women in their work, contrary to the custom of the savages. As soon as the Irroquois thought that all of them had gone away, they took possession of the land between the fort and the Hurons, in order to prevent the latter from taking refuge within it, and made prisoners of nearly all the people of that village. The manner in which this affair took place was plainly seen from Quebec.

The Irroquois, having thus rendered themselves masters of the Hurons, compelled them to embark in their canoes, and they passed in front of Quebec in open day, meanwhile obliging the captives to sing while passing, in order to humiliate them still more. That caused murmurings among the citizens, and every one was astonished that the French did not curb the insolence of the Irroquois by cannonading their canoes, which proceeded side by side, in military array; but they did not attempt to do anything, on account (as they said) of the missionaries who were among the Irroquois, whom they would certainly, on account of that, have handed over to the most cruel tortures. I will not dwell longer on this subject, the [*Jesuit*] *Relations* having made sufficient mention of it.

Meanwhile the Irroquois returned home triumphant; they put to death part of the prisoners, and granted life to the others—who, with their posterity, will remember that they were abandoned by the French to the mercy of their enemies.

### III. *Defeat of the Algonkins by the Irroquois*

The Irroquois no longer set their minds on anything so much as on the destruction of the Algonkins, who were of all their enemies the most formidable. They



had reduced the Hurons to a condition in which they could no longer inspire fear, and regarded the French as a people who were not acquainted with their mode of warfare and were incapable of vanquishing them, not knowing [how to make] their way through the forests of the country.

The friendly reception that was given to the Irroquois when they came in large bodies to Quebec to treat of peace led them to imagine that we feared them; if they came in small squads, the French gave them clothing, and spoiled them with the presents that they gave them. This idea induced them to conclude peace once more with the Algonkins. The two peoples exchanged collars with each other, and made solemn declaration of the inviolable union between them, promising that they would not fail, in the following winter, to meet together in order to cement the bond.

The Algonkins, all of whose villages were in the vicinity of Three Rivers, set out at the usual time for their winter hunt, and separated into two bands; one took its route along Nicolet River, and the other toward the Ouabmachis.<sup>143</sup> In those regions there were a great number of elk, and the snow was very favorable for hunting that game; for they could, without taking much trouble, by coursing kill as many elk as they would find.

It is said that an Algonkin named Piskaret, who was the terror of the Irroquois, and whose valor they knew well, entered one of his enemies' villages, killed an entire family with his club, and then took refuge in one of their woodpiles. The following night, he did the

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<sup>143</sup> "Perrot writes by turns *Ouabmakis* and *Ouabmachis*; I have adopted *Ouabmachis*, preferring it as more closely approaching the *Ouamachis* of Charlevoix. The true form seems to me to be *Oumachiche*, from which, by cutting off the Algonquin article *ou* will be formed *Machiche*, the name at present borne by this river. The *Machiche* rises north of the Saint Lawrence, and flows into the part of that river which is called Lake St. Peter." — TAILHAN.

same in another house, and, having deprived the dead of their scalps, hid himself in the same retreat. But the third time when he attempted to perform an exploit like the two preceding, he was discovered, and obliged to flee. He was naturally agile and nimble, and steadily kept considerably in advance of his pursuers; and for this reason he took it into his head to wait for them until evening. Seeing that the night was approaching, he hid himself in the hollow of a tree. Those who had been running after him thought that he was far ahead, and, no longer hoping to overtake him, occupied themselves with making a fire not far from his retreat, and encamped there. When he saw that they were sound asleep, he broke the heads of them all, and came back laden with their scalps.

It is also related that on another occasion he, with four other men, attacked five Irroquois canoes, which he capsized by firing, not at the men within them, but at the bottoms of their canoes, with bar-shot; these filled the canoes with water, and made them upset. Then rushing upon the enemies he killed them all, except some prisoners whom they were carrying away for the amusement of their village. This exploit was performed in the broad part of the mouth of Sorel River, in the middle of the stream. These extraordinary deeds, and many others of the same sort, rendered this man redoubtable among the Irroquois.

The Algonkins tell us that this Piskaret was a very brave man; and that he placed great confidence in [the strength of] his heart and his legs. He set out one day from the Nicolet River to go hunting beyond St. François River; and as he was returning home, laden with the muzzles and tongues of elks, he saw behind him six Irroquois, who had descried him before he saw them,

and who carried a flag. As they marched they were singing the peace-song, by which they made it known that they were coming with the intention of confirming the peace. The Algonkin intrepidly approached them, and, sitting down with them, lighted his pipe and gave them some tobacco. In the conversation that they had together, he informed them that his village was on the Nicolet River, and in it were one-half of the Algonkins encamped in a body, the other half being on the Ouabmachis River. The Irroquois in turn informed him of what had brought them into the region where they then were, and told him that they were going to visit their father Ononthio, and to congratulate the Algonkins. After they had paid each other, on both sides, attentions and expressions of regard, they arose to continue their journey, and immediately one of the six Irroquois placed on his own shoulders the load that the Algonkin had to carry; it is the custom of the savages to act thus with those whom they greatly honor and respect. They all marched abreast, the Algonkin in the midst of them; but there was one of the company who lagged behind, and who, allowing them to go a little way ahead, afterward quickly rejoined them, and killed the Algonkin (who had no suspicion of him) with his club.

These Irroquois of whom I have just spoken had been detached from a large party (of nearly a thousand men), to go scouting; having slain the Algonkin, they hastened with all speed to inform their people of all that they had learned. As soon as the Irroquois heard this, they resolved to divide their men into two bodies, of whom one should go to carry away the Algonkins at Nicolet, and the other to seize those on the Ouabmachis River; and this plan was carried out at daybreak the next morning. Some Algonkins escaped from their clutches, but the greater part of them were captured or massacred.



After such an overthrow, the Irroquois had no longer anything to fear, finding themselves everywhere victorious; for the few Algonkins who still remained were not capable, [even if] united together, of destroying a single village of their enemies. All the harm that they could do to the Irroquois, therefore, was to knock on the head those whom they might encounter alone. They entreated the Poissons Blancs to aid them—a tribe who, with other Algonkins, are settled above the river of Three Rivers; and they induced a village of Montagnais from the Saguenay to come to Sillery. The Mikmaks of Accadia promised to aid them; the Nepissings united with them; and all together formed parties who numbered four or five hundred men. But the dissensions which prevailed among them broke up all their measures, and caused the failure of everything that they had planned; for, as I have already remarked, the Algonkins have never been willing to endure any subordination. Courage and haughtiness alone inspire them to action in their battles, and these traits have prevented them from saving themselves in the losses that they have incurred; and although the Irroquois were much more numerous the Algonkins would have routed them if they had acted in full concert, as they are much better warriors than the Irroquois.

This war continued until the arrival in this country of the regiment of Carignan [1665]. The late Monsieur Le Moine was captured in the same year by the Outaouas [*sc.* Irroquois], and carried home by them.<sup>144</sup> For

<sup>144</sup> "This Le Moine of whom Perrot speaks must be the same as Charles Le Moine, sieur de Longueil, the head of one of the most illustrious families of New France. In the passage that concerns him I have proposed to substitute the word 'Irroquois' for 'Outaouais,' which appears in the text. The Ottawas, friends of the French and their allies in the war that was then desolating the colony, could not cherish hostile intentions against one of the bravest defenders of their own cause, make him a prisoner, and condemn him to the fire. All that is very naturally explained [as occurring] among the Iroquois. It is with-



several years they had already contemplated putting him to death if he happened to be captured. He had great personal courage, and was feared by all the savages. People have related that one old [Irroquois] woman even dried pieces of bark for nearly ten years, in order to burn him. When he arrived [in their country] they sentenced him to the stake; but when they were going to burn him one of the leading men of their tribe arrived, who obtained his deliverance, and, accompanied by several other chiefs, brought him to Montréal.

On their arrival there they saw Monsieur de Courcelles, governor-general of the country, and all the troops who had recently come from France; and the French were eagerly expecting Monsieur de Tracy, who had taken the route by the islands of Guadeloupe—of which, as well as of this colony, his Majesty had appointed him viceroy. These Outaoüa [*sc.* Irroquois] envoys were greatly astonished at seeing so many soldiers, to whom orders were given to divide their numbers among the settlements, in order to defend the inhabitants of New France; and in the same year the detachments were made that were necessary to work on the construction of the forts at Sorel and Chambly.

The Irroquois ambassadors reached Montreal at the same time, in order to make pretended negotiations for a peace similar to those which they had made before; but when they saw the reënforcements which had

out any doubt Charles Le Moine and his captivity to whom the following passage of the *Relation* of 1666 refers" (in chap. ii, a passage relating to a French gentleman captured by the Iroquois and taken to their country, but afterward released). — TAILHAN.

The above conjecture and emendation by Tailhan are entirely correct. Charles le Moyne (who came to Canada about 1641) was captured by the Iroquois in 1665, and escaped death as here related. For his public services he was ennobled (1668) by Louis XIV. Among his children were Pierre, sieur d'Iberville, and Jean Baptiste, sieur de Bienville, famous for the exploration and first colonization of the present Louisiana and Mississippi. — Ed.

arrived in the country they changed their tune and talked more sincerely.

This news spread throughout all the villages of the savage tribes. The Tsonontouans and the Goyogouans united with the Onontagués to make their peace with the French, and with the tribes down here, [which lasted] until the war which was waged against the Tsonontouans.

#### IV. *Expeditions of the French against the Irroquois*

The ambassadors of the Onontagués, the Goyogouans, and the Tsonontouans declared that their allies were not willing, ever since that same winter, to make peace with us; this compelled Monsieur de Courcelles to march against them, at the head of five hundred men and a considerable number of Canadians. The guides could not discover the road to their villages; they led the party to Corlard, where they found only one cabin of Irroquois [February, 1666]. The Flemish Bastard was also there, with a party of Aniez, whose chief he was. Some skirmishes took place with the advanced posts, and many gunshots were fired on both sides; but the enemy were repulsed. The commander of our troops left his post, trying to pursue those who had come to attack him; he was thus left with four men besides himself, without its being possible to succor him. Monsieur de Courcelles, finding that he was almost out of provisions, turned back in retreat for the first time, and was joined by a hundred Algonkins who, hunting in that vicinity, learned that he was there, and came to proffer him their services; but as he was not in a condition to be able to undertake anything against the enemy, he thanked them and continued his journey.

This expedition, although it made no progress, cer-

tainly intimidated the Aniez and Anoyés [i.e., Mohawks and Oneidas], who had with them some prisoners of ours – among them Monsieur de Noirolle, a nephew of Monsieur de Tracy. Monsieur de Chasy, his cousin,<sup>145</sup> was killed north of the fort of La Motte on Lake Champlain. At the end of this campaign the Aniez held councils among themselves, and took measures for surrendering the prisoners and demanding peace.

Monsieur de Tracy despatched in the following summer [May, 1666] a party of three hundred men, French and Algonkins, who met on the way the Flemish Bastard, having with him Monsieur de Noirolle and three other Frenchmen; one of these latter was wounded in the heel, and Monsieur de Courcelles recommended him, on departing, to Sieur Corlard.<sup>146</sup> The French and Algonkins of the advance-guard seized and bound the Flemish Bastard and two of his men; but as soon as

<sup>145</sup> "Monsieur de Chasy was the nephew and not the cousin of Monsieur de Tracy. Perrot himself has corrected this mistake a little farther on."

— TAILHAN.

Monsieur de Tracy's cousin is called De Lérole in the "Journal des Jésuites." Perrot was at that time (1665, 1666) trading in Wisconsin, and, forty-two years after these events, he gives in this chapter of his memoir a brief recital of them, from memory; we should therefore not be surprised that he has fallen into some errors as to dates. — TAILHAN (additional note, p. 341).

<sup>146</sup> "Arendt van Corlaer (Corlar and Corlart in the *Relations* and in Perrot) was about 1640 the commander of a small fort built by the Dutch six leagues from Orange (the present Albany, N.Y.). The savages, and the French following their example, called by his name at first the post where he had resided, and then the governors (successively Dutch and English) of New Belgium, which later became New York. One of these latter, Governor Dongan, in his report of February 22, 1687, to the Board of Trade explained this custom by the affection which this good man had inspired in the Indians who had dealings with him (*Docum. Hist. of New York*, vol. i, 156). Influenced by similar motives, the savages of Canada gave to all the governors of the colony the name of Ononthio (i.e., 'great mountain'), which was only the translation into their language of the name of Montmagny, the successor of Champlain; they also used this epithet to designate the King, but united with it the adjective 'Great' ('Great Ononthio')." — TAILHAN.



the main body of the troops had arrived on the scene—who had hastened their pace at hearing the outcries and hootings of the Algonkins—Monsieur de Sorel, the commander-in-chief, made them unbind the prisoners. The Algonkins showed their discontent at this, and were inclined to use insolent language to the commander; for they desired that these Irroquois should be burned. But Monsieur de Sorel answered them sharply, with so much spirit and firmness that they had no words with which to answer him. You will note that when these men were seized they declared that they were coming as ambassadors to treat of an adjustment [of their relations with us]; and that it was for this reason that Monsieur de Sorel dealt thus with them.

He brought these ambassadors with him to Quebec, and presented them to Monsieur de Tracy, who sent one of them back to his own country with a letter for Monsieur Corlard—in which he assured him of his promise [to the Irroquois], in order to induce them all to come in security to the colony, saying that they would be kindly received there.

A prominent war-chief left the country of the Aniez about the same time—I mean, a month before the Flemish Bastard left it—having under his command thirty warriors, who were bringing back to Montréal the French prisoners whom they had. He went with his men to encamp at the Prairie de la Magdeleine (where there was not yet any settlement), and found there some Onontagués who had been hunting during the winter, the better to persuade the French of the stability of that peace which they had just concluded together. They informed this newly-arrived party that the Flemish Bastard was at Quebec, in order to conclude the peace there.

When this chief heard that news, he would not go



any farther; he allowed his party to rest themselves there, and embarked with the Onontagués, who carried him to Montréal. When he arrived there a batteau was despatched, in which he took his place to go to Quebec; on his arrival there, he found the peace concluded. Monsieur de Tracy received him very kindly, and often had him eat, with the Flemish Bastard, at his own table; for this chief was a man of high standing and esteem among the savages of his tribe.

One day Monsieur de Tracy, giving a dinner, mentioned at the table how keenly he felt the loss of Monsieur his nephew, which had just occurred; but said that the public good had, notwithstanding, obliged him to grant to the Flemish Bastard the peace which he had asked for. That was enough to make this haughty chief of the Aniez understand the sorrow which Monsieur de Tracy felt at the death of Monsieur de Chasy (whom this chief had slain), and to constrain him, as a matter of propriety, to abate his arrogance. But, far from compassionating the grief which his host made evident, before him and all the company this chief raised his arm, loudly boasting that it was his hand that had broken the youth's head. This preposterous insolence broke off the peace that Monsieur de Tracy had granted to the Flemish Bastard; and, telling this talkative chief that he would never kill any more Frenchmen, he had him seized and bound. Then, without placing him in prison, he sent for the executioner, and gave orders that the murderer should be strangled in the presence of the Flemish Bastard; and a little while afterward he set out [October, 1666], at the head of fourteen hundred men—soldiers, Canadians, and Algonkins—accompanied by Monsieur de Courcelles, to march against the Aniez. He had left at Sorel, on the way, the Flemish Bastard

(whom he sent home after this campaign), who was employed in burning and throwing into the river the Indian corn belonging to four villages; as a result, more than four hundred souls died from hunger during the winter. Those who survived wandered about here and there, and went to beg for food among the Onontagués; the latter refused to give it, and jeered at them, telling them that the wild northeast wind had destroyed their grain through their own fault.

At the end of the campaign the Flemish Bastard was sent home; and when he arrived there he found entire desolation. The Aniez were continually imagining that they had the French in the neighborhood of their villages; they insisted that he should retrace his steps, and go back to entreat peace in earnest. With very little delay, then, he returned to Quebec, where he protested, with all the guarantees that the French wished to exact from him, that he desired to obtain peace; that he would remain as a hostage; and that he himself would come to live, with his family in the colony, in order to prove the sincerity which led him to come to ask for peace. These arguments were heard with favor; moreover, he did not fail to fulfil what he had promised, for many of the same tribe, following his example, came to settle at Montréal, without, however, cultivating any land there. They dispersed themselves from the river of the Outaouas as far as Creuse River, where the hunting of beaver, otter, elk, and moose is very common; and they were seen in the spring and autumn seasons coming down to the colony, laden with so great a quantity of peltries that the price of these fell by more than a half in France.

## XVII. Murders committed against Irroquois

### I. *The first murder*

Some soldiers of the Carignan regiment took it into their heads to range the woods with the Irroquois, and to follow them everywhere in their hunting expeditions. They provided themselves with plenty of brandy, and went away without telling this to any one, making known their departure to one of their officers only—who even aided them in making their preparations for this trip, in the hope of securing some share [of the profits] therein.

Five of these soldiers, who were already accustomed to voyages of this sort, and who knew the route by this [Outaoüas] river, and the places where the Irroquois were accustomed to hunt, set out at night, and arrived at Pointe Claire in Lake St. Louis; and there they found an Irroquois, who had his canoe full of moose-skins. These soldiers asked him if he would drink a draught of brandy, but he answered “no.” Seeing, however, that they invited him to drink without paying for it, and without [apparent] selfish motive, he accepted the offer that they made him; that led him to drink more of the brandy, and, by dint of urging him, he took so much that he became dead-drunk. These soldiers, seeing that he had lost his reason and his senses, fastened a stone to his neck and flung him into the water, in the broad part of the lake. The other Irroquois who had been out hunting returned to Montréal, and some time afterward asked [these soldiers] if they had not seen him, but the latter answered “no;” his comrades therefore believed that he had been drowned along the rapids of the Outaoüas River.

These savages, however, when either going to or re-



turning from a hunt, perceived a corpse floating on the water—either because the cord which served to attach the stone to his neck had broken, or because the stone was not heavy enough. They went directly toward this corpse, and recognized the man of whom there were no tidings. They conveyed it to Montréal, and in the complaints that they made they set forth that in their hunting parties there had been no other savages besides themselves, and that consequently there were no others than Frenchmen who could have slain their comrade. Close search was made to find the authors of this deed, but without success.

The soldiers, after committing this murder, carried the peltries in the night to their officer, and made him believe that they had been trading with some Irroquois who were returning from their hunt. This officer gave the hides in payment to some person; for it was the custom in the country to use peltries instead of money.<sup>147</sup> The person who obtained them from this officer had likewise given them to some one else, and in this manner they had passed through several hands. It happened that a Frenchman, having one of them, carried it to the house of a merchant, at which were present some Irroquois; and they recognized it by the special mark which each of them places on his own pelts. Immediately they seized it, in order to carry it to the commandant of the city. The Frenchman was summoned,

<sup>147</sup> Regarding the use of peltries as money, see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. ix, 173-177, 205; xxi, 123; xxii, 241; xxxvii, 71; lx, 291, 305; lxix, 127, 245-249, 259-263. See also J. R. Swanton's article "Exchange" in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, where he enumerates the chief articles used among the aborigines as standards of value, with their equivalents in money, etc. The beaver pelt was "the basis of all trade between the French of Canada and the Indians," from the beginning of that intercourse; and in the great fur regions of Canada it also remained such between the English and the Indians. "Up to the present time everything is valued in 'skins,' meaning beaver skins; but the term has come to have a fixed value of fifty cents in Canadian money."—Ed.



and questioned to ascertain from whom he had received this hide; and he named the person who had given it to him. He too was sent for, and likewise named the person from whom he had received it; and by this means it was learned that the hide had come in the first place from the house where the officer lived. Search was made there, and many hides with the same mark were found in it, which were recognized as the property of the murdered savage. These proofs left no further reason to doubt that he had been slain by some soldiers. At that time, those soldiers had gone away again to trade in brandy on the Outaoûas River, after having repaid to the officer the first advance, also the last one, that he made them, by the remainder of the plunder from the Irroquois whom they had murdered. Orders were given to the officer to arrest these men as soon as they should return, or to notify [the commandant], in order to punish them and render justice to the Irroquois; for already the latter were heard to utter their discontent. They intimated that their indignation was great enough to renew the war, if there had been a failure to render them satisfaction for this murder.

## II. *Justice rendered to the Irroquois for the above-mentioned murder*

The authors of this crime, not having any shelter more certain than the house of their officer, arrived there in the night; they were arrested there, and thrown into prison. The military council having assembled to try their case, they confessed at the first interrogation the crime of which they were accused; and all five were condemned to be put to death, in the presence of the Irroquois.

They were led out, and all five were bound each to a

post. The Irroquois were astonished at the ample justice that was rendered to them, and entreated mercy for four of them; because, as they had lost only one man, it was not just, they said, to kill five for him, but one only [ought to die]. They were given to understand that the five were equally criminal, and without any exception merited death. The Irroquois, who were not expecting so extensive a satisfaction, redoubled their entreaties to obtain mercy for four, and for this purpose made presents of porcelain collars; but the French did not listen to them, and all five men were shot to death [1669].

The justice which on this occasion was rendered to the Irroquois was published in all their villages, whose people [therefore] had great confidence in the French; and many of their families, influenced by so splendid a reparation, came down into the colony and remained there, [attracted] by the abundance of game and the other necessities of life that they found there for living comfortably.

### III. *Another murder*

Some years afterward eleven Irroquois were hunting south of the Lake of Two Mountains, toward the end of the island of Montréal, and carried on trade with a merchant who went to find them there. This trader took with him a very intelligent Canadian, who was thoroughly acquainted with the language of the Irroquois, and was highly esteemed by them. These Irroquois, having found out where his lodging was, went to visit him; he entertained them, and assured them that he would not fail to visit them in their winter camp. He did not forget this; for he set out one day, accompanied by a merchant and his servant, and reached the camp. All three were very hospitably received, and all the

more cordially because they had taken care to carry with them some brandy, of which they made a present to the savages. The Irroquois having drunk it until they had lost their wits, the Frenchmen murdered them for the sake of plundering them. This murder was discovered, and the murderers, having been warned by their friends to be gone, escaped so well, each in his own way, that it was impossible to arrest them.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148</sup> "As these two murders were committed in the course of a single year (*Relation* of 1670, chap. vi, ix; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. i, 425, 426), Perrot's 'few years' must necessarily be changed to 'few months.' These abominable crimes, occurring successively in a colony where until then they had been unknown, must have made certain governors of that time understand how fatal was this trade in brandy, which they stubbornly protected through a false policy, and especially through opposition to the ecclesiastical authority, which forbade that trade. As a matter of fact, the most evident result of this infamous commerce has always been the demoralization of the Europeans who conducted it, and the degradation, ruin, and death of the savages. Accordingly, the honorable and Protestant Company of Hudson Bay, actuated by higher motives than those blind and jealous Catholic [governors], has for many years absolutely prohibited the brandy trade throughout the extent of the immense regions subject to its jurisdiction. And it has been possible, since then, to establish a period of halt in the movement of depopulation which threatened to bring, before long, the complete extinction of the aboriginal tribes (*Missions de Québec*, tenth report, 36, 107; thirteenth report, 137). I have spoken of demoralization, ruin, and death; but there is no exaggeration in this language. The reader may judge of this by the following extract from an anonymous document addressed in 1705 to the Comte de Pontchartrain (*Mémoire historique sur les mauvais effets de la réunion des castors dans une même main*; this document is found in the Archives of the Marine): 'There are many of these *coureurs de bois* who, with the view to enrich themselves all at once, make nearly all their commerce center around the brandy-trade. Every one knows the passion of the savages for this liquor, and the fatal effects that it produces on them. Experience, as old as the Colony, teaches us that they drink it only to intoxicate themselves, without having ever been able to understand by what fatal charm this surprising effect can be produced. The village or the cabin in which the savages drink brandy is an image of hell: fire [i.e., burning brands or coals flung by the drunkards] flies in all directions; blows with hatchets and knives make the blood flow on all sides; and all the place resounds with frightful yells and cries. They bite off each other's noses, and tear away their ears; wherever their teeth are fixed, they carry away the morsel [of flesh]. The father and the mother throw their babes upon the hot coals or into the boiling kettles. They commit a thousand abominations—the mother with her sons, the father with his daughters, the brothers with their sisters. They roll about on the cinders and coals, and in blood. In this frightful condition they fall



The Irroquois, [knowing] the close search that was being made everywhere in order to render them justice, and no longer doubting that the French were in earnest,

asleep among one another; the fumes of the brandy pass away, and the next morning they awake disfigured, dejected, and bewildered at the disorder in which they find themselves. Entirely savage as they are, they nevertheless feel horrified at their condition; and many of them repent, and form the resolution to drink no more in future. Some Frenchmen, unworthy to bear that name, solicit them to begin again. The latter find immense profits in this infamous commerce, because, when they have once intoxicated the savages, they plunder them of even the clothes, weapons, and other articles which they had previously sold to the savages. Some of these Frenchmen have been known to acknowledge, with sorrow and tokens of repentance, that they had obtained more than 15,000 livres' worth of beaver-skins with a single cask of brandy which did not cost them 200 livres; but that, while returning from their voyages, their cabin had taken fire while they were asleep, and all their beaver-skins and the rest of their equipment were consumed. There are, besides, a hundred instances of the curse of God on those who carry on this odious commerce; and not one of them is known whose affairs have ended prosperously. . . His Majesty has, at various times, issued wise regulations opposed to this evil commerce; but avarice, greed for gain, jealousy of authority, and false policy, have always found means to elude them.' These disorders, with the same features, are still reproduced to-day wherever the dealers in strong liquors can penetrate. See what was written in 1839 by a missionary on the Missouri, who cannot be suspected of having drawn his inspiration from the preceding memoir: 'The deplorable excess in liquors . . . will end, I fear, by entailing the total ruin of the tribe; for war, pestilence, and famine are its inevitable results. Some Americans without conscience are inundating the country with their fatal liquors; and the government, which alone can put an end to a traffic so immoral, thus far has opposed it only by severe laws, but not with efficacious measures. . . One must be a witness to the orgies of these people in order to understand to what excess their brutal passion can carry them. Once the bounds of temperance are passed, their blood is inflamed, and a sort of rage consumes them. . . At first there are songs of joy, but soon arise cries and yells, followed by altercations. A combat is begun with the strokes of knives, and ended with blows from clubs. Very often blood is mingled with their libations, and murder seasons the feast. Above all else, the combatants strive to cut off each other's noses; it is for them an exploit of which they boast' (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. xiii, 52, 53). Cf. J. Long's *Voyage and Travels*, 97, 111, of the French translation (Paris, the year II). For the rest, the savages are under no illusion as to the real cause of their degradation and their misfortunes. Once some agent (I forget his name) of the President of the United States assembled in council the Quinipigous or Puans, that he might make known to them the order to quit their ancient abodes—where, it was claimed, they had become a permanent cause of trouble and scandal by their bad conduct. The great orator and head chief of the tribe made a speech, and said, among other very sensible remarks: 'In order to avoid being just toward us, they accuse us of being the most per-



on account of the complete satisfaction that had been made to them in the case of the preceding murder, manifested no resentment for this last crime. They still continued to hunt along the Outaoüas River, having with them some Frenchmen who carried on a good business [in trading with them], and of whom they took excellent care. They requested more Frenchmen from Monsieur de Courcelles, in order that, if some Outaoüas came down [to the colony] who were ignorant of the peace, no strife or bloodshed might occur.

### XVIII. Terror of the Outaoüas at the sight of the Irroquois who were hunting along the river

More than nine hundred Outaoüas came down to Montréal in canoes;<sup>149</sup> in this number there were five of us Frenchmen [1670]. It must be understood that in that period those peoples [of the upper country] were very cowardly, and little used to war. While on our voyage we found, past [Lake] Nepissing, some Nepissing canoes which were coming back from Montréal; this induced us to stop and encamp, in order to get some

verse people under the sun. If this reproach were cast at us by Indians, I would show that it is exaggerated; but it is the white men who apply it to us, and I confine myself to replying that the blame recoils on them. Why impute to us vices which you yourselves have encouraged? Why do you come to the very doors of our cabins to tempt us with your brandy, so destructive to our tribe? If there are crimes committed among us, it is the result of drunkenness; and who makes us drunken? Who? they are greedy men, who sell us poison and plunder us to pay for it' (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. xvii, 490). In fact, brandy is for the savages a veritable poison; strychnine or arsenic would kill them more quickly, but not more surely." — TAILHAN.

<sup>149</sup> "The Ottawa fleet, according to the *Relation* of 1679 (chap. i), comprised only ninety canoes, manned by four hundred men. That is very different from the nine hundred Ottawas of Perrot. But it is easy to explain this disagreement, more apparent than real, by regarding these ninety canoes as a part of the entire fleet — which we are authorized to do by the phrase 'the last bands,' which the *Relation* uses to designate them." — TAILHAN.

news from the colony. They assured us that there were several bands of Irroquois, escorted by some Frenchmen, who were hunting in the vicinity of the river, and who had given them a very hospitable reception, offering them provisions to refresh themselves. That large body [of Outaoüas], in their apprehension, were already afraid of what has just been related, and even were ready to give up [their journey]; but, as the Outaoüas had great confidence in me and looked on me as their friend, I persuaded them to continue their voyage—except some canoes of Saulteurs, Missisakis, and Kiristins who slipped away and returned to their own homes. When we had descended the Calumets we met, a little below the [rapids of the] Chats, Monsieur de la Salle,<sup>150</sup> who was hunting with five or six Frenchmen and ten or twelve Irroquois.

That great fleet of Outaoüas appeared already shaking with terror at this sight, and desired to give up their voyage entirely on hearing the report made by the Frenchmen, who told them that there were still several other bands of Irroquois who were hunting farther down [the river]. I could not prevent myself then from reproaching them for their cowardice; and, having reassured them, they continued their route, for there was not room [in that place] for their camp. It was there—

<sup>150</sup> "Robert Cavelier de la Salle, who was born at Rouen in 1633, and died at the hand of an assassin in Texas, March 16, 1687, played a very important part in New France. At first a Jesuit, then a voyageur, he was still but little known when (in 1670) he was encountered by Perrot on the shore of the Ottawa. He had, however, in the preceding year been the first to descend the Ohio River, as far as the falls which interrupt its navigation (Margry, 'Les Normands dans l'Ohio et le Mississippi,' *Journal général de l'instruction publique*, supp., August 20, 1862). Thirteen years later (1682) he finished the discovery of the Mississippi, commenced by Joliet and Father Marquette in 1673." Margry maintains (*ut supra*) that La Salle had preceded them in this discovery, but this assertion seems inadmissible; and various contemporary documents and reliable historians are cited to disprove it. — TAILHAN.

fore necessary to paddle all night, and to leave all the loaded canoes afloat, in order that we might proceed the next morning. Two hours before daylight, all the fleet in departing took the broad part of the river, and slipped along about daylight without making any noise. We had in the early morning a heavy fog, so dense that it prevented us from seeing our canoes; but the sun in rising scattered it, and we observed opposite us a camp of seven Irroquois, with whom were five or six soldiers.

At that time the greater part of the Outaoüas had already gone past [this camp]. The Irroquois did not move from their fires; it was only the Frenchmen who came toward us and called to us; but not one of the canoes would halt; on the contrary, they exerted themselves to paddle more vigorously. Nevertheless, I compelled the canoe in which I was to land. The soldiers made me eat and drink with them; my canoemen were continually urging me to embark, for it was a long day's work that we must perform. The sun was about to set when the main body came down in a line along the rapids. My canoe was among the foremost in our group of thirty—of which some had come to land, and others were yet on the water. There were also some in the rapids, who could not ascend, or force their way against the current, for whom we must wait.

Two leagues farther down, repeated volleys of musket-shots were fired, the smoke from which we saw rise in the air. This alarm constrained all the Outaoüas to range themselves in a squadron, and those who had landed felt obliged to reëmbark, despite all that I could do to prevent them, and they overtook the main body. They made the resolution to abandon everything and take to flight; and I did all in my power to dissuade them from this course. The men in my canoe were al-



ready unnerved [by their terror]. I hastened to meet them all, and proposed to them to give me a canoe, so that I could take the lead and go to the place where the guns were fired; and I urged on the Frenchmen (who were no less overcome by fear than were the savages) to accompany me. I endeavored to make them recover from the terror that had seized them, by assuring them that the Irroquois, as a proof of their sincerity, had some Frenchmen with them. I gained the front of the main fleet, and managed so well that they consented to follow me. As my canoe neared land, toward evening, the Irroquois fired a last volley, in order to salute us. Most of the Outaoüas, on recognizing that it was only to pay us honors that the guns were fired, recovered their courage and came to land, but without unloading their peltries. This band was composed of twelve Irroquois, who had with them two soldiers from Montréal, whom I knew. The Outaoüas were still trembling, and were resolved to travel all night until they could reach the first French houses, not believing themselves safe among these dozen Irroquois—who without doubt would have been very friendly and entertained them, if they had had some game to give them.

When the Outaoüas saw the Irroquois asleep, they all embarked about midnight, and my canoe alone remained. My canoemen, however, did not cease to call me, in order that I should [also] embark; but I was sleeping so soundly, with those two Frenchmen, that I did not hear the summons. One of my canoemen ventured to come to awaken me, but so gently that you would have said that he was going to surprise a sentinel. He whispered in my ear that it was time to embark, and that the entire fleet was already far ahead. I immediately arose, in order to go with him; and at daybreak it was



apparently [still] out of our sight. They all paddled vigorously, and did not wait for us until they reached the Grande Anse, in Lake St. Louis. About two hours after noon, we set out to go to Montréal, and then the Outaoüas began to take breath and, when we reached that place, to feel that they were entirely safe.<sup>151</sup>

### XIX. Sedition stirred up, in an unexpected manner, by the Outaoüas at Montréal.

The trading of the Outaoüas with the French was well advanced (it was usually carried on in the town-hall of Montréal, where they are accustomed to display their merchandise), when it happened that a savage of the above-named people stole some article from a French soldier, without the latter being aware of it. The sentinel—who had orders to keep watch on those who were trading, in order that they might not be molested, and that no mischief be done—saw the theft committed; he notified the man to whom the wrong had just been done, who immediately rushed upon the thief and tried to snatch from him some fragments of beaver-skin that he held. The savage resisted him, the sentinel advanced in order to check those who had tried to strike the savage, and presented the end of his gun in order to hold back the people who were trying to rush on him in a crowd. The sentinel urged the savage to give back what he had seen him take. Many of the lookers-on thought that men had been wantonly knocked down, and undertook to rush headlong upon the soldier; and they actually took away his gun. When he saw that he was disarmed, he drew his sword. The man who had committed the theft tried to grasp him and take away his sword, but, as he could

<sup>151</sup> "La Potherie gives (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 114-120) a much more circumstantial relation of this voyage." — TAILHAN.



## JURISDICTION OF MONTREAL



not accomplish this, he received a sword-blow on his arm. Then the soldier turned the point of his weapon toward every one who attempted to come near him. Immediately the Outaoüas came up, with their arms in their hands. I also hastened to the place as soon as I possibly could; several chiefs with whom I was acquainted joined me; and we checked the outbreak that was beginning.

Monsieur de la Motte,<sup>152</sup> a man of courage and honor, was then in command at Montréal; his company was the only one of the Carignan regiment that remained in the country. Having been notified that all his soldiers and those of the [militia] guard were in the town-hall, he ordered the drums to beat to call them together; and he marched at the head of the troops, in order to oblige every one to perform his duty; but when he arrived, the riot was quelled. He perceived (without knowing me) that I was talking energetically to the savages, and easily recognized that I understood their language. He spoke to me, inquiring where the chiefs were; I showed them to him, and he at once had them arrested and led to his house; I contrived to follow them, so as to learn the outcome of this affair. At the same time all the soldiers of the garrison, who in all numbered sixty men, were stationed along the palisades; they were commanded by a sergeant, who had orders to fire on the first Outaoüas who might seem to be attempting any disturbance.

A [certain] person of high standing, who desired to go up to the Outaoüa country by availing himself of the return of this fleet, was present. Monsieur de la Motte asked him to inquire from these people, in their own

<sup>152</sup> "Monsieur de la Motte (or Mothe), captain in the regiment of Carignan-Sallières, came to Canada in 1665 with his regiment. In that same year, or at the beginning of the following one, he built Fort Sainte-Anne on one of the islands of Lake Champlain (*Relation* of 1666, chap. iii), and was slain in a battle with the Iroquois, September 22, 1690." — TAILHAN.



language, what reason they had for stirring up such a tumult. They made their complaint, with an artless relation of the truth; but this new interpreter repeated it [to la Motte] otherwise, in order to gratify the savages, and made it appear that in reality the soldier was to blame for the whole affair. Monsieur de la Motte—who had long been a captain, and whose services commanded respect—ordered the second sergeant of his company to go to find the sentinel, and to have him immediately placed on the wooden horse,<sup>158</sup> with weights of two hundred pounds on his feet.

As I had heard that the savage blamed himself in what he had just related, and that he had frankly admitted how the affair had occurred, I could not refrain from making protest at this; and I stoutly declared that, according to the very deposition which the savage had just made, the soldier was innocent, and that he did not deserve the punishment that had been decreed, since the interpreter had explained the matter otherwise than it [really] was. Monsieur de la Motte, irritated at the soldier, hastily walked into his own room without paying any attention to what I had just said. I repeated once more [the real truth of] the case, and made the ensign of the company listen to me. The interpreter, without seeming to hear me, mistrusted that the officer would not fail to relate and explain the matter to Monsieur de la Motte; so he immediately burst into a passion and inveighed against me, and demanded justice for

<sup>158</sup> Referring to an instrument of torture known as the *chevalet* — “a sort of wooden horse with a sharp back, on which soldiers who had committed disorderly acts were placed with cannon-balls attached to their feet” (Littré). It was a cruel punishment, and men sometimes received serious physical injuries from it. In this connection, note the curious statement (London *Weekly Times*, Dec. 14, 1909) that on Dec. 14, 1909, the Manx legislative council “struck out the proposal to repeal the obsolete ecclesiastical ordinance that children pulling horses’ tails should be set on a wooden horse for two hours and whipped.” — ED.

the contradiction which I had just given him in regard to the false interpretation. I walked up to him, in the presence of Monsieur de la Motte, and maintained that he had wrongly explained the statement of the savage; that I understood the savage language; and that this person, in interpreting it, had not stated what the savage had just confessed.

Monsieur de la Motte, who had suspended his judgment in regard to the soldier, sent for him and, after interrogating him, ordered him to state exactly how the whole affair had occurred. He made the same relation that the savage had given, and in the manner that I have just stated. Monsieur de la Motte then turned to the person who had not told the truth about it, and contented himself with making some remarks to humiliate him; and then he sent away the soldier and the chiefs whom he had placed under arrest.

The trading of the Outaoüas was nearing its end when a canoe arrived at Montréal sent by Monsieur de Courcelles, with orders to send down to Quebec all the chiefs of that people, and those of the Irroquois, in order to conclude the peace between them.

Monsieur de la Motte, having received these orders, sent for me and ordered me to embark with the Outaoüas, who made objections to going; but they were obliged to obey, against their will. The Irroquois did not seem to feel any repugnance to going.

When the Outaoüa chiefs found that they were forced to embark in the vessel assigned for their voyage, they sent all their people back to their homes, and had their own canoes follow them. An officer and twelve soldiers were commanded to escort them as far as the place where we made our first encampment after leaving Montréal. They entreated me to ask the officer that they might be

permitted to embark in their own canoes, to which he consented; and we arrived safely at Quebec [July, 1670]. There the friends of the man to whom I had given the lie at Montréal made every effort to make trouble for me with Monsieur de Courcelles, and to prevent me from being the interpreter [in the peace conference]. But Monsieur de la Motte had written [to him] in my favor, and guaranteed my reliability and fidelity, so that my enemies received no hearing. There was some person who tried to find fault with the interpretation that I had made, and to insist that it was not correct; but he was entirely put to confusion in this attempt, for my version was generally received as truthful.

XX. Arrival of the Intendant Monsieur de Talon, having orders to cause the insignia of France to be planted in the country of the Outaoüas, and to take possession of it in the name of the king

The first ships from France arrived at Quebec while all the chiefs were there. Monsieur de Courcelles received letters from Monsieur de Talon, who wrote to him how serviceable it was to secure some Frenchmen who had gone among the Outaoüas and knew their language, so that these could go up there and take possession of their country in the name of the king. Monsieur de Courcelles at once cast his eyes on me, and had me remain at Quebec until the return of Monsieur the intendant.

When he arrived there, he asked me if I would decide to go up to the Outaoüas in the capacity of an interpreter, and to escort a deputy whom he would station there to take possession of their country. I informed him that I was always ready to obey him, and offered him



my services. I then set out with Sieur de Saint Lusson, his deputy, and we arrived at Montréal, where we remained until the beginning of the month of October [1670]. We were obliged, in this voyage, to spend the winter with the Amikouëts; the Saulteurs also wintered in the same quarter, and went hunting. They secured more than two thousand four hundred moose, in an island called Isle des Outaouäs,<sup>154</sup> which is forty leagues in length, and includes the stretch of Lake Huron from the part opposite the St. François River as far as the river of the Missisakis, on the route to Michillimakinak. This extraordinary catch of game was, however, only made with snares.<sup>155</sup>

I notified these peoples to proceed to the Saulteur country in the springtime, as early as they could, in order to hear the message from the king that Sieur Saint Lusson was carrying to them and to all the tribes. I also sent some [Saulteur] savages to tell those in the north that they too must not fail to proceed to their country. I went with a sledge,<sup>156</sup> and carried behind me

<sup>154</sup> "Perrot here designates, under the name 'island of the Ottawas,' the great island of Manitouline, the primitive residence of the Ottawas properly so called (Ondataouaouat, Cheveux Relevés). It is still inhabited by the remains of that tribe, and by a few hundred Saulteurs." — TAILHAN.

<sup>155</sup> "Although devices for inducing animals to effect self-imprisonment, self-arrest, or suicide differ from hunting weapons in that the victim is the active agent, the two classes merge into each other. The Indians had land, water, and air traps; and these acted by tension, ratchet, gravity, spring, point, or blade. They were self-set, ever-set, victim-set, or man-set, and were released, when necessary, either by the hunter out of sight or by the victim. The following list embraces all varieties of traps used by the Indians north of Mexico, and they were very clever in making them effective without the use of metal: A, Inclosing traps — (a) pen, (b) cage, (c) pit, (d) door; B, Arresting traps — (e) meshes, (f) hooks, (g) nooses, (h) clutches; C, Killing traps — (i) weights, (k) piercers, (l) knives." — O. T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>156</sup> "The Eskimo and the Indians north of lat. 40° used as a vehicle for travel and transportation, complementary to the skin boat and the bark canoe, the sled drawn by man and dog over snow and ice. . . Sleds differ in construction, shape, and use according to the materials, the ingenuity of the people, the nature of the ice and snow, the journeys to be made, and the loads to be



a canoe from the other side of the island, in which I embarked; for it is to be noted that the lake never freezes, except on the coast where we wintered – and not at all, out from the shore, on account of the continual waves which the wind causes there. We set out from that place to go toward the bay of the Renards and Miamis,<sup>157</sup> which is not far distant; and I summoned all the chiefs to come to Sault Sainte Marie, where we were to plant the stake and fasten to it the arms of France, in order to take possession of the Outaouäs' country. It was the year 1669 [*sc.* 1671] when that took place.<sup>158</sup>

On the fifth of the month of May I reached Sault Sainte Marie with the principal chiefs of the Pouté-

hailed. . . The parts of a sled are the runners, shoes, crossbars, handles, lashings, lines, traces, toggles, packing, webbing, and braces. These belong to the fully-equipped sled, which is a marvel of convenience, but some of them may be wanting. There are four plans of construction besides numerous make-shifts: (1) The bed lashed to solid runners; (2) the bed on pairs of bent sticks spliced together or arched and fastened below to runners; (3) the bed resting on a square mortised frame, probably an introduced type; (4) the bed flat on the ground, the toboggan." – O. T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

See Le Jeune's description of the most primitive type of Montagnais sledge (of the toboggan type), in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. vii, 109. From the Indians the sled was adopted, with variations and modifications, by the early settlers of Canada, who called this conveyance *train*; it is still in use in many parts of the Dominion. See Warburton Pike's description of it in his *Barren Ground of Northern Canada* (London, 1892), p. 90: "We used the ordinary traveling sleighs of the North: two smooth pieces of birch, some seven feet in length, with the front ends curled completely over and joined together with cross slats secured with *babiche* [strips of moose-hide] into a total width of sixteen inches."

— ED.

<sup>157</sup> This refers to the Bay of Puans, or Green Bay, near which these tribes had lived for several years. See *Relation* of 1671, chap. v; *id.* of 1673, chap. i; Marquette's *Voyage*, section 3; La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 125. — TAILHAN.

<sup>158</sup> "Possession of the Ottawa country was not taken until a year after the return of Talon to New France, in July, 1670 (Perrot, 125, 126). Perrot (or his copyist) therefore makes an error of two years in assigning the year 1669 as the date of that ceremony. At the end of the very document recording that taking of possession, a copy of which belongs to the archives of the Marine, we read, 'Done at Sainte-Marie-du-Sault, on the 14th day of June, in the year of grace 1671.' The *Relation* of that year (part 3) erroneously dates it on the 4th day of June." — TAILHAN.

oüatamis, Sakis, Puans, and Malhominis; those of the Renards, Mascouetechs, Kikabous, and Miamis did not go farther than the Bay. Among these latter was the head chief of the Miamis, named Tetinchoua, who, as if he had been the king, kept in his cabin day and night forty young men as a body-guard.<sup>159</sup> The village that he governed was one of four to five thousand warriors; he was, in a word, feared and respected by all his neighbors. It is said, however, that he had a very mild disposition; and that he never had any conversation except with his lieutenants or the men with whom he held counsel, who were commissioned with his orders. The Poutéouatamis did not venture, out of consideration for him, to expose him to making this voyage, dreading for him the fatigue in the canoe, and fearing that he might become ill. They represented to him that, if any accident happened to him, his tribe would consider them responsible for it, and on that account would attack them. He then yielded to their arguments, and even requested them to act for him in the coming transaction, just as he would do for them if he were the one to go. I had explained to them the nature of this business, and why they were summoned.

<sup>159</sup> "Father Charlevoix gives a narrative (*Histoire*, vol. i, 437, 438), as taken from Perrot's memoirs, of the reception of that traveler by the great chief of the Miamis which is not found elsewhere save in La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 125, 126). The former historian has some hesitation in vouching for the rigorous exactness of the details which we read in Perrot regarding the respect and deference of the Miamis for their great chief; but he would have been less timid if he had, at the moment when he wrote, recalled the following passage from Father Dablon, an eye-witness of what he narrates:" (see *Relation* of 1671, chap. v). The other tribes of the Illinois, however, displayed the same independent and even intractable disposition as all the other savages of the northern regions (cf. *Lett. édif.*, vol. vi, 321); yet the southern tribes among whom Hernando de Soto passed were like the Miamis in this respect: "The chiefs of tribes there generally enjoyed prerogatives of honor and authority which were equal, if not superior, to those of the great chief of the Miamis" (see Oviedo, *Historia de Indias*, vol. i, book xvii, 560, 561, 564, 567).—TAILHAN.

On my arrival [at Sault Sainte Marie], I found not only the chiefs from the north, but also all the Kiristions, Monsonis, and whole villages of their neighbors. The chiefs of the Nepissings were also there, [with] those of the Amikouëts, and all the Saulteurs who were settled in the same quarter. The stake was planted in their presence, and the arms of France were attached to it with the consent of all the tribes—who, as they could not write, gave presents for their signatures, affirming thus that they placed themselves under the protection of the king, and in subjection to him. The official report of this taking possession was then drawn up, on which I placed my signature as interpreter, with that of *Sieur de Saint Lussou*, the deputy; the reverend missionary fathers *Dablon*, *Allouez*, *Dreuillette*, and *Marquet*<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> All these were noted Jesuit missionaries. The eldest among them was *Gabriel Dreuillette* (born in 1610), who entered the Jesuit order at the age of eighteen, and came to Canada in 1643. He was a missionary among the wandering Algonkin tribes on the St. Lawrence, and the Abenaki tribes of Maine, during nearly twenty years. In 1661 he went with *Dablon* on a mission to the Cree tribes, and ten years later was in charge of the Jesuit mission at Sault Ste. Marie. He died at Quebec, April 8, 1681.

*Claude Dablon* (born in 1618 or 1619) entered the order at the age of twenty, and came to Canada in 1655. For two years he labored in the Iroquois mission, then spent a year among the Cree about Hudson Bay, and some six years in the settlements on the St. Lawrence; in 1668 he went with *Marquette* to the Algonkin tribes about Lake Superior. From 1671 he held responsible positions in his order, which called for his residence at Quebec—where he died in 1697.

*Claude Jean Allouez* (born in 1622) became a Jesuit when seventeen years old, and joined the Canada mission in 1658. After seven years' labor in the St. Lawrence settlements, he went among the Ottawas of Lake Superior; and spent the rest of his life among the northwestern tribes. He died in August, 1689, while engaged in these missionary labors. The official announcement of his death credited him with having instructed more than 100,000 savages, over 10,000 of whom he baptized.

*Jacques Marquette*, who came to Canada (1666) at the age of twenty-nine, is especially notable for his voyage of exploration with *Louis Joliet* (1673-1674), in which they discovered the Mississippi River and followed its course as far as the Arkansas. Previously to this, *Marquette* had labored among the Ottawas at *Chequamegon* and the Hurons at *Mackinac*; and in October, 1674, he went to found a mission among the *Kaskaskias* of Illinois. He was forced by illness to abandon this work, and died (May 18, 1675) while on his way back



signed it farther down; and, below these, the Frenchmen who were then trading in those quarters. That [proceeding] was transacted according to the instructions given by Monsieur Talon. After that, all those peoples returned to their respective abodes, and lived many years without any trouble in any quarter.

I have forgotten to mention that the Hurons and the Outaoüas did not arrive until after the taking of possession, because they had fled from Chagouamikon for having eaten the Scioux, as I have previously related. We conferred with them on what had just been done, and they, as the other tribes had done, consented to all that had been agreed and concluded.<sup>161</sup>

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to Mackinac. Wisconsin is represented in the Capitol at Washington, D.C., by a statue of Marquette. In the *Jesuit Relations* (vol. lxi, 400-403) may be found an illustration of a recently-discovered portrait which is thought to be that of the missionary-explorer; also (vol. lix) his journal and letters.—Ed.

<sup>161</sup> "The *Relation* of 1671 (part 3) and La Potherie (*Histoire*, 128-130) contain many details of this taking of possession that are omitted by Perrot; I refer the reader to those writings, and content myself with giving here the (unpublished) official report of that ceremony, after the copy, somewhat incorrect, deposited in the archives of the Marine. I have restored the orthography, either correct or probable, of certain names more or less maltreated by the copyist, and have placed these readings in brackets, next to those of the text. The passages suppressed and indicated by leaders present nothing of historical interest; they are nothing more than formulas or tedious repetitions. . . . One century had not passed away when there remained no other trace of the French domination in that part of America than this sheet of paper which had formerly verified its establishment. If one compares the list of the tribes which came to Sainte-Marie-du-Sault, as we read it in this document, with that which the author of our memoir furnishes, one is surprised at not finding therein the same names. This is the result of the multiplicity of names given by the savages to the same tribe, or to the diversity of forms which sometimes were assumed by the same name. . . . In closing, I will point out a slight error by Perrot. Father Marquette did not figure among the witnesses to the taking of possession; he was at that time with the Hurons and Ottawas, who did not arrive at the Sault until after the ceremony. In our text, therefore, it is necessary to substitute for the name of Father Marquette that of Father André, which is found in the official report of Monsieur de Saint Lussan among those of other witnesses, which follow the name of the delegate [of Monsieur Talon]."—TAILHAN.



## XXI. The Irroquois, being no longer at war with the French or with their allies, carry hostilities among the Andastes and the Chaouïanons

The Irroquois could no longer make war on their neighbors, having been compelled by force of arms to put an end to all their cruelties; they therefore sought to carry it into the country of the Andastes and the Chaouïanons,<sup>162</sup> whom they routed in several encounters. From these tribes they considerably augmented their own forces, by the great numbers of children or other prisoners whose lives they spared. The Andastes were entirely ruined; and the few who remained surrendered themselves by private agreement. They were received among the Tsonontouans, where they are at the present time.

Monsieur de Courcelles, having secured the general peace with the Irroquois, resolved to visit Lake Ontario. He went thither with a few men, and arrived [1671] at Kataracouy,<sup>163</sup> which is the name by which Fort Fron-

<sup>162</sup> "The Andastes 'are people speaking the Huron language who live in Virginia' (*Relation* of 1646, chap. vi). Their war against the Iroquois, commenced about 1659, continued a long time (from 1657 to 1673) with varied fortune of success and reverses, and was ended by their complete destruction. (Cf. *Relation* of 1672, chap. vi.) The Chaouanons, driven from the shores of Lake Erie by the Iroquois, sought a refuge farther south, in a country which Perrot calls Carolina. In 1673 they inhabited the valley of the Ohio (Marquette, *Voyages*). Some remnants of this tribe resided in 1835 in Kansas, south of the river from which that territory has taken its name (*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, vol. x, 132); and at that period they were distinguished by a stage of civilization that was relatively quite advanced (*id.*, vol. ix, 91)." — TAILHAN.

The name Andastes included several tribes located south of the Iroquois Five Nations, in what is now Pennsylvania; they were akin to the Iroquois by race and language. The Dutch colonists of New York called these tribes Minquas; and the English, Susquehannocks or Conestogas. They were at war with the Iroquois during some seventy-five years, but were finally conquered and incorporated among their victors (about 1675). Regarding the Chaouanons, or Shawnees, see note 19. — Ed.

<sup>163</sup> Kataracouy was the Indian name for the locality which is the site of the

tenac is [now] called. He summoned the Irroquois, who had [orders] to assemble there all together, so that he might lay before them his intention to build a fort. They consented to this, and some presents were given to them, for which they gave others in return. In the same autumn, a little before this, Monsieur de Courcelles was recalled [to France], and relieved by Monsieur de Frontenac, who caused this fort to be built in the following summer, and bestowed on it his own name; and he did not fail to go thither to spend some months of the year. He summoned thither the chiefs of all the Irroquois nations, and always maintained harmony between them and the savages of the upper country — until some Irroquois warriors who came from Chaoüanonk, where they had accomplished nothing, carried away five families of Renards, and a chief who had gone to solicit aid in the war which that tribe were then waging against the Illinois. That was the cause of the Irroquois destroying an Illinois village, and making attacks everywhere indiscriminately. I have written a memoir on the subject of these wars, which you, Monseigneur, have; and for that reason I have given no account of it in this memoir.

All the unjust raids which the Irroquois made everywhere did not draw Monsieur de Frontenac into making war on them; he foresaw the evil results of that. As soon as a blow was struck he was notified of it by presents on the part of those who had first dealt it, and others from those who had been attacked. He was able to quiet all, although the Irroquois steadily became stronger and stronger by means of the great numbers of captives whom they continued to make among their enemies.

Monsieur de Frontenac gave to various persons per-  
present town of Kingston, Ont. — an important place for both commercial and military purposes. — Ed.

mits<sup>164</sup> for the trade which was carried on in the upper country, among the savages who are outside of the [regular trade of the] colony. I also obtained one,

<sup>164</sup> "The trade in peltries outside of Canada was vested in a company which held the absolute monopoly of it. As for the trade with the savages, it was permitted only in the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; in order to engage in trade outside of these places, a permit must be had, furnished by the governor-general of the colony. These permits (of which the king had fixed the number at twenty-five) were granted to the noble families who had least wealth, or to such colonists as the government wished to recompense for their services. It is, without doubt, by this latter right that Perrot obtained his permit, through the agent of Monsieur Bellinzani — not Belgralie, as erroneously written in our manuscript — one of the principal officials in the ministry of the Marine under the great Colbert. The holder could, at his own pleasure, use the permit obtained, or sell it to a third party; and in every case it conferred upon its owner the right to send or to take among the savages a canoe laden with merchandise, in exchange for which the latter gave their peltries. On returning [to the Colony], the net profit was divided into two equal parts, of which one was paid to the owner of the permit, and the other to the voyageurs or *coueurs de bois* who managed the canoe and traded with the tribes (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 142). I extract from a memoir already cited [that of 1705, sent to Pontchartrain, see footnote 148] the following picture of the life, full of dangers, toils, and adventures, which was led by these Canadian voyageurs, of whom Perrot still remains one of the most famous:

"These *coueurs de bois* are always young men in the prime of life; for advanced years cannot endure the fatigues of this occupation. Some of them are of good family, and others are merely habitants, or the sons of habitants; and still others have no vocation, and are called volunteers; but the desire for gain is common to all these men. Some carry their own merchandise among the savages; others borrow the goods from the merchants. Some of them carry on this trade in behalf of private persons who give them wages; others have an interest, and take risks, with the merchants. As all Canada is only one vast forest, without any roads, they could not travel by land; they make their voyages on the rivers and the lakes, in canoes which ordinarily contain each three men. These canoes are made of sheets of birchbark, smoothly stretched over very light and slender ribs of cedar wood; their structure closely resembles that of the Venetian gondolas. They are divided into six, seven, or eight sections by light wooden bars, which strengthen and hold together the two sides of the canoe. . . . As an entire canoe cannot be made with a single sheet of bark, the pieces which compose it are sewed together with the roots of the spruce-tree, which are more flexible and white than the osier; and these seams are coated with a gum which the savages obtain from the spruce. . . . The savages, and especially their women, excel in the art of making these canoes, but few Frenchmen succeed in it. . . . The *coueurs de bois* themselves propel their canoes, with small paddles of hard wood, very light and smooth; the man at the rear of the canoe guides it, which is the part of their calling that requires skill. The two other men paddle ahead. . . . A canoe properly man-



through the favor and recommendation of Monsieur Bellinzani, secretary of Monsieur de Colbert.

It was about the same time when Monsieur de Ches-

aged can make more than fifteen leagues a day in still water; it goes farther if descending the current of a river, but a less distance when it ascends against the current. . . . When they meet rapids or waterfalls which cannot be passed with the canoe, they go ashore, and unload the bales . . . these, as well as the canoe, are carried on their backs and shoulders . . . until they have passed the fall or rapids, and find the river suitable for again embarking on it; and this is called "making portages." . . . When there is a favorable wind, this is a great help to the canoeman, who does not neglect to hoist a sail (with which each canoe is provided for use on such occasions), and to pitch his tent on shore, where he lands every evening in order to eat and sleep; that is called "cabining" [*cabaner*]. In such a canoe these three men embark, at Quebec or Montreal, to go 300, 400, and even 500 leagues from the colony, to procure beaver-skins among savages whom very often they have never seen. All their provisions consist of a small quantity of biscuit, with pease, Indian corn, and some kegs of brandy; and they are soon reduced to obtaining their food only from the game and fish that they find on their way. . . . It often happens that the hunting and fishing are not successful, and they are reduced to very punctual fasting, and have nothing to eat save a kind of moss . . . which they call *tripe de roche* ["rock tripe"]. When they are returning from their voyages, or are going from one tribe to another, and have nothing to eat, they have recourse to their Indian moccasins and to the pelts which they have procured in trade, with which they make a paste for their food. . . . As not much time is necessary for carrying on this traffic, the life of the *coureurs de bois* is a perpetual idleness, which leads them into all kinds of debauchery. They sleep, they smoke, they drink brandy at whatever cost; and often they seduce the wives and the daughters of the savages. . . . Gambling, drunkenness, and women often consume both the capital and the profits of their voyages. They live in entire independence; they do not have to render account to any one for their actions; they recognize neither superior nor judge, neither laws nor police, nor any subordination." — TAILHAN.

About this time the court revoked the *congés*; these were a score of permissions which his Majesty had granted to the families of the poorer gentlemen to go trading among the Outaouaks, and which the governor-general distributed to the persons whom he thought most in need of them. A *congé* was, then, a permission for one year to take into the Outaouak country a canoe with eight men, loaded with merchandise. Those who did not care to go up thither would sell their *congés* for a sum varying from eight to twelve hundred francs. The buyer would choose three voyageurs, to whom he gave a thousand écus' worth of goods, which he rated high; these goods would produce about twelve thousand francs' profit. The owner of the *congé* had the half of this profit, besides his principal; and the voyageurs shared the rest. Those people usually resorted to Michilimakinak, or else went among those nations who, they believed, had most peltries. So many abuses crept in with all these favors from the Prince that persons who were entitled to but one year extended that term, and



neau, intendant of the country, wrote letters against Monsieur de Frontenac, and sent word to the court that he was bestowing permissions upon his own dependants only. His letters obtained credence, and it was forbidden to issue these permits to any one thereafter.

The Canadians, seeing themselves deprived of these privileges, grew lax [in their obedience to the government], and believed that the privileges were rightfully theirs; and that was the reason why most of the young men in the country left it, and returned only by stealth to obtain trade-goods, and bringing back peltries, which were secretly sold. This traffic opened the eyes of the merchants, who found it greatly to their own advantage; they advanced to these young men the goods that were necessary for their voyage, some of them being opposed to the issue of the orders mentioned above. As a result, these Canadians made themselves like unto the savages, whose dissolute conduct they copied so well that they forgot what was due from them to French subordination and discipline, and, if I may venture to say so, to even the Christian religion. In order to prevent this lawlessness when it commenced, punishment should have been administered from the beginning to such as com-

others went thither as they would. As a result, beaver-pelts became so abundant that the Farmers of the West [i.e., the Company of the West Indies] could with difficulty find sale for them in France, or a market in foreign countries. On the other hand, Monsieur de la Salle, seeing his projects thwarted by the disorderly commerce which some unauthorized Frenchmen were coming into those quarters to carry on, ordered his men to plunder them; and, at an assemblage of the savages convened by him, he begged them not to trade with any one who was not provided with one of the commissions issued by him. He took this action because the trade which he carried on was really the means of maintaining those peoples, and because he could not succeed in his discoveries if he did not attach them to himself. He took all necessary precautions to prevent the abuses which might be occasioned by the orders which he had given; but they were nevertheless certain to occur; for the savages, extending their range up to the places where trade was free, plundered all, indifferently, whom they found roving in those quarters. — LA POTHERIE (*Histoire*, tome ii, 142, 143).

mitted offenses by transgressing the orders of the king. The court, having been informed that this evil was not diminishing, sent to Monsieur de Frontenac a decree of amnesty [for those offenders], which he made public in the Outaouäs country—to which he sent Monsieur de Villeraye for this purpose, and stationed him there as commandant in those regions.

The Irroquois then began to make raids on the Illinois and other tribes, for their forces were continually increasing. They even undertook to go against the Outaouäs and Nepissings, from whom they took many captives. Monsieur de Frontenac, having gone to visit the fort which he had caused to be built, as soon as he arrived there had all the Irroquois chiefs assembled; and he talked with them in such fashion that they surrendered their captives, and remained quiet, promising to make no more raids on our allies who are included in the peace. Nevertheless, Monsieur de Frontenac was continually urged to make war on them; but he foresaw that, if once it were kindled, it would not be extinguished very soon; he therefore contented himself with intimidating them by [threats of] war in his speeches to them, and succeeded therein.

Continual disputes arose between him and Monsieur du Chesneau through the suggestions made by their dependants on both sides. The king, having been informed of this, recalled both of them to France, and sent over Monsieur de la Barre to relieve Monsieur de Frontenac, and Monsieur de Meule in place of Monsieur du Chesneau. This recall, to the detriment of the country, was caused by the ill-considered counsel that was given to each of those officials.

Messieurs de la Barre and de Meules, having relieved them [1682], were persuaded by the ecclesiastics to

make war against the Irroquois; the merchants also, who were considering not so much the destruction of that people as their own interests, on their side urged him on to declare war. They did not foresee that, in rendering the Irroquois their enemy, they could not bring those savages back to them when they pleased. They fancied that as soon as the French made their appearance the Irroquois would beg for mercy from them; that it would be easy to establish warehouses and construct vessels on Lake Ontario and in the Lake of the Outaouäs; and that the war was a means for finding wealth. All these counselors succeeded in causing this war to be undertaken.

## XXII. War undertaken by Monsieur de la Barre against the Irroquois

Monsieur de la Barre, having finally resolved on the war which he had been persuaded to make against the Irroquois [1684], sent presents to the Outaouäs tribes inviting them to come to join him at Fort Frontenac, in order that they might, united together, destroy the village of the Onontaguez. Monsieur de la Durantaye was ordered to command the Outaouäs, and for his second in command he was given Monsieur de Lude; he sent notification of this to the latter at Kamalastigouia,<sup>165</sup> at the furthest end of Lake Superior, where he was stationed. Monsieur de la Durantaye had all the Frenchmen called in who were in the vicinity of Michillimakinak. All

<sup>165</sup> "In this passage of our manuscript one may read indifferently *Kamalestgauda* or *Kamalesigauda*; but farther on this same name appears again, very plainly written, under the form *Kamalastigouia*, which for that reason I have adopted. A petition from Du Luth (in archives of the Marine) in which he made application in 1693 for the concession of this post, of which the exact location is unknown to me, has the form *Kamanastigouian*." — TAILHAN.

This place (the name also written Kaministiquoia) was near the present Port Arthur, Ont. — ED.



his people being brought together, he sent out the tomahawk<sup>166</sup> to present it to the Saulteurs, Missisakis, and other tribes who dwelt about Lakes Huron and Superior, but there was not one of them who would accept it. He had it carried among the tribes of the Bay, who likewise refused it.

Monsieur de la Barre had given me a permit to go to trade among the Outaouäs. On my way to the Bay I met, five leagues from Michillimakinak, the deputies who were going to invite the tribes of that Bay with the tomahawk and presents; but when they returned they reported that not one of the tribes had been willing to give their consent to the war, or to accept the presents that had been offered to them. The envoys went among the Hurons, who accepted the tomahawk; the Outa-

<sup>166</sup> "The *casse-tête* ["head-breaker"] or tomahawk is a sort of war-hatchet, which is the symbol of a war that is declared. The custom is, to present it with formality in the middle of a dance, in which each person is animated by all the most frightful emotions which fury can inspire' (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 157). This weapon was at first a sort of club, formed from the root of a tree or from some other very hard wood, two and a half feet long, squared on the sides, and enlarged or rounded off at its extremity. Later, the savages substituted for this a small iron hatchet, to which they gave the same name (Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. ii, 196, 197; Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 238)."

—TAILHAN.

"Tomahawk" is the name applied to a sort of weapon in common use among the Algonquian tribes of the eastern United States, and probably came into English through the early colonists, from the dialect of Virginian tribes; it is common to widely scattered peoples, being found as far west as the Cree. "A common conception of the tomahawk is that it was the aboriginal representative of the European hatchet—that is to say, a cutting tool—and in colonial times and even later the name was generally applied, apparently through misapprehension, to the metal hatchet. The etymology of the word [meaning, an instrument to strike with] would seem, however, that the name was applied originally to a striking instrument or weapon of the club type, rather than to an edged implement. An examination of the literature of the subject confirms this conclusion." This weapon seems to have been originally a club, some three feet long, with a knob at the end, sometimes made more effective by inserting in it a spike of bone or flint. The French called it *casse-tête*, "head-breaker." After the Indians obtained metal hatchets from the Europeans the name tomahawk was often applied to these.

—W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



ouäs, the Kikapous, and the Sinagos refused to hear them speak.

Monsieur de Lude arrived, the following night, from Kamalastigouia, and learned that none of the tribes, except the Hurons, had consented to go out on the war-path. In the morning he was told that I was at Michillimakinak; he sent for me, and told me that no one could, better than I, induce the tribes to unite with us in this war, [as he was] persuaded of the ascendancy that I possessed over their minds. I set out therefore, one Sunday, after I had heard holy mass, to go among those peoples; they listened to me, and accepted the tomahawk and the presents. They only asked me for a few days to repair their canoes, and to make their preparations for joining us; they were given a week in which to get ready. At the end of that time they arrived [at Michillimakinak], and we all departed together; but the Outaoüas did not come until three hours later, at Sakinang [i.e., Saginaw]—to the number of four hundred men, including the chiefs and old men. After their departure, a canoe was sent to inform the tribes at the Bay that we all had set out from Michillimakinak; and that I had induced peoples who had refused to accept the tomahawk and the presents to unite with us in the war. I told them that they had always looked on me as their father, and that I was to march at the head of the Outaoüas, who were doing quite right in following me. One of the chiefs then spoke, and declared to all the villages that it was their duty to take an interest in this war, and to go to it, since I was taking part in it. He declared that he and his family would not allow me to expose myself to danger unless they were there too, and he set out without making any preparations. He was followed by a hundred young men; all the rest would



PIPE AND TOMAHAWK DANCE (Ojibwa)



have accompanied him if there had been [enough] canoes.

The Outaoüas having joined us, Messieurs our commanders gave them into my care. An unforeseen accident which occurred on the third day of our journey frightened them, and made them look on it as a bad omen for the war which we were going to carry on. There was a French soldier who unawares let his gun go off, and was killed by the shot; this sad occurrence filled their imaginations with notions unfavorable to our enterprise, but I beguiled them from these ideas.

When we arrived at the islands of the Détroit,<sup>167</sup> they drove a herd of elk into the water; a young man who sat in the middle of a canoe, attempting to fire at them, broke the arm of his brother who was paddling in the front part of the same canoe. This second accident made such an impression on the Outaoüas that they were going to turn back, if I had not persuaded the father of the wounded man to make a public declaration that he had left his own country with the sole intention of perishing with his weapons in his hand against the Irroquois. The young man actually died from his wound; and his brother lived only a short time after this, on account of the chagrin and sorrow that he felt [over his carelessness]. Notwithstanding, the Outaoüas could not evade continuing their route.

The people from the Bay whom I have previously mentioned joined us at two leagues' distance from Longue Pointe on Lake Erien; and they informed the Outaoüas that if they remained long absent from their women the latter would starve, as they did not know the method for catching fish. They desired therefore to

<sup>167</sup> "Perrot here gives the name of Détroit ['the strait'] to the river formed by the discharge of Lake Huron into Lake Erie. Cf. Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 255, 256." — TAILHAN



return home; but I opposed this purpose, telling them that there was cowardice in such a resolution. At first they were angry at me, and roughly answered that they would show me what they could do. At that time we were detained in that place by bad weather<sup>168</sup> for seven or eight days; and we had taken care to send out some Frenchmen thence to make a reconnaissance toward the country of the Irroquois.

At this reproach [of mine], the Outaoüas also sent out some of their men by land, who reached the region to which we had sent our men to get intelligence of the enemies; but they did not meet each other until some time later. The Outaoüas while marching amused themselves by whistling and counterfeiting the call of the elk, until the Frenchmen (who were not very far from them) believed that there really were elk there; and they went farther into the woods, going toward the place where they had heard the sounds. When they had come quite near, one of those at the front spied something white in a thicket, and thought that he saw the breast of an elk; this led him to fire his gun, with which he wounded an Outaoüa who was wearing a shirt, and pierced the shirt of the man behind this one.

This last blow gave the finishing stroke to their belief that they had good reason to abandon us; there were even some of them who were bold enough to say that they must fight against us, because we were already beginning

<sup>168</sup> "Perrot does not name the tribe from the Bay who came to Long Point to join the other savages who were *dégradés* — that is, detained in that place by bad weather; but La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 159, 160) informs us that it was the Outagamis. In a 'Memoir of the payments made by Sieur de la Durantaye to the Ottawas for the service of the king and the execution of the orders of Monsieur de la Barre in the years 1683-1684' (in the archives of the Marine) appears the following item: 'Given to the Puans, the Saquis, the Outagamis, and the Malominis, on August 20, in my behalf, by Sieur Nicolas Perrot in order to invite them to go to Montreal, eleven pounds of tobacco, at eight francs a pound.' — TAILHAN.

to kill them. By my arguments I won over the wounded man and his uncle, who assured the Outaoüas that his nephew was not dead, although he had been wounded; that he wished to go further in order to die; and that he had left his own country with this design. He added, addressing them directly, that they could nevertheless give up the enterprise if they so wished; but that, as for himself and his nephew, they would follow the French everywhere. His speech produced so good an effect that they continued their march with us.

At last we arrived at Niagara, where Monsieur de la Durantaye commissioned me to inform the Outaoüas, in presenting to them the tomahawk, that the three barks belonging to Fort Frontenac would be there at our arrival, laden with three hundred guns for arming them, and with other military supplies, and all the food they would want. I told him my opinion regarding this, which was, not to entangle himself with assurances of this sort, and that it would be time to say this when we reached that place, in case that such abundance were found there; because, if matters went otherwise and they found that they had been deceived, it would be no longer possible to keep them in hand. Despite all my arguments, he positively insisted that I must carry out his orders as above.

When we arrived there, we found no vessel; I diverted their minds, however, during two or three days, by making them believe [that contrary winds] had prevented the barks from coming. Time passed, and nothing came; that made them murmur. They began to tell me that I had deceived them, and that the French were intending to betray them and deliver them into the hands of the Irroquois, who would [now] have no difficulty in carrying away their wives and children. The com-

manders and the Frenchmen no longer knew what to say about it; they held consultations, and called together the chiefs and all the elders of the tribes, to whom they declared that it was necessary to take the route toward the north side of the lake [Ontario], and go straight to Fort Frontenac; that they would find Monsieur de la Barre there, or, if he had not yet arrived, they would wait there for him; and if they learned that he had advanced from that place, they would follow him, because his arrival would protect us from the attacks of the enemy. The savages, who are creatures of contradiction, always desiring to be masters of their own acts, said that it was necessary to take the [route to the] south, and march straight to the country of the Tsonontouans.<sup>169</sup> They stubbornly maintained this, despite

<sup>169</sup> *Tsonnontouan*, a corrupted form of the Iroquois name (signifying "People of the Great Mountain") for the westernmost tribe in their League—who were called by the Dutch *Sinnekens* (apparently the Mohegan translation of the Iroquois name), a term at first applied to all the Iroquois tribes save the Mohawks, but finally restricted to the westernmost one, and anglicized to the form *Senecas*, by which name they are still known. When first encountered by the French, "they occupied that part of western New York between Seneca Lake and Geneva River, having their council fire at Tsonontowan, near Naples, in Ontario County. After the political destruction of the Erie and Neuters, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the Seneca and other Iroquois people carried their settlements westward to Lake Erie and southward along the Allegheny into Pennsylvania. They also received into their tribe a portion of these conquered peoples, by which accessions they became the largest tribe of the confederation and one of the most important. They are now chiefly settled on the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda reservations, N.Y. A portion of them remained under British jurisdiction after the declaration of peace and live on Grand River reservation, Ontario. Various local bands have been known as Buffalo, Tonawanda, and Cornplanter Indians, and the Mingo (formerly in Ohio) have become officially known as Seneca from the large number of that tribe among them. No considerable number of the Seneca ever joined the Catholic Iroquois colonies. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century the Seneca was the last but one of the Iroquois tribes to give its suffrage in favor of the abolishment of murder and war, the suppression of cannibalism, and the establishment of the principles upon which the League of the Iroquois was founded. However, a large division of the tribe did not at once adopt the course of the main body, but on obtaining some coveted privileges and prerogatives the recalcitrant body was admitted a constituent member



whatever good arguments could be employed to make them change their resolution. I went into their camp to confer with all the chiefs, to whom I showed that it was too great a risk to expose themselves to, in such an enterprise, and that we would certainly be defeated, in place of securing our safety by taking the other course. I talked with all of them individually, one after another; and after the answers they gave me I saw that there were only a few men among them who stubbornly maintained that opinion; and the reason why they were so hard to move was, because of the reproach of cowardice which I had previously flung at them—while as for the rest I was not wrong. All the savages likewise told me the same thing, even though I might say no more to them about it. I returned to Messieurs our commanders to tell them what I had just heard, and to assure them that terror

in the structure of the league. . . The political history of the Seneca is largely that of the League of the Iroquois, although owing to petty jealousies among the tribes the Seneca (like the others) sometimes acted independently in their dealings with aliens. But their independent action appears never to have been a serious and deliberate rupture of the bonds uniting them with the federal government of the League, thus vindicating the wisdom and foresight of its founders in permitting every tribe to retain and exercise a large measure of autonomy in the structure of the federal government. It was sometimes apparently imperative that one of the tribes should enter into a treaty or other compact with its enemies, while the others might still maintain a hostile attitude toward the alien contracting party." The Iroquois were at war, during most of their early history, with the Algonquian peoples about them, both on the north and the south, and sometimes extended their hostile incursions even as far as Labrador and Illinois respectively, the Senecas being especially active against tribes west of their own region; and it was mainly they who ruined and dispersed the Huron tribes (1648-1649), and subjugated the Neuters (1651) and the Erie (1656). "In 1657 the Seneca, in carrying out the policy of the League to adopt conquered tribes upon submission and the expressed desire to live under the form of government established by the League, had thus incorporated eleven different tribes into their body politic. . . The earliest estimates of the numbers of the Seneca, in 1660 and 1677, give them about 5,000. . . In 1908 those in New York numbered 2,736 on the three reservations, which, with those on Grand River, would probably give them 3,000 in all. The proportion of Seneca now among the 4,052 Iroquois at Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and Oka cannot be estimated."—J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook of Amer. Indians*, art. "Seneca."



abode in the camp of the Outaoüas, and that they were afraid we would take the route by way of the country of Tsonontouans. I proposed an expedient, which was, to publish in their camp that, as we had controlled the advance as far as Niagara, we would for the present confer on them the power of directing it; that we were ready to follow them in the direction that they [thought best]; and that we would regulate [our motions] by the first canoe that should depart. They agreed to what I have just stated, and immediately all the French canoes were launched, and the baggage was placed in them.

When all that was accomplished, I called out in their camp, "Now do you direct the course;" and at once all those who were not numbered with the obstinate ones embarked, taking the route to the north, and followed us.

Thirty or thereabouts of the stubborn ones did not stir from their camp during the rest of the day; they sent two men out as scouts toward the country of the Irroquois. These men discovered a bark under sail, and immediately returned to notify their people, who sent us advice of it by a canoe.

The next day we reached Niagara, where the bark arrived; but it had nothing [for us] except letters from Monsieur de la Barre. In these he informed us that it had been necessary for him to make peace, on account of the disease which had broken out in his camp; this had caused the deaths of nearly nine hundred Frenchmen, and of as many more savages who had accompanied him.\* Although Monsieur de la Barre had followed the advice of many persons in undertaking this expedition, they were the first to write letters to the court

\* "It is impossible that Monsieur de la Barre's army, eleven hundred men strong (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. i, 489, 490), should lose eighteen hundred of them by sickness. The copyist has probably added here a zero to the figure written in the original." — TAILHAN (additional note, page 338 of his edition).

against him, and to declare that he was no longer capable of conducting a war. He was, in fact, recalled in the following year, and relieved by Monsieur [de] Denonville [August, 1685].

I did not return to the Outaouäs immediately after the campaign; I did not go there until the following spring, in consequence of the news which were received through the voyageurs, who reported that the men of Monsieur de la Salle were making trouble for the Frenchmen who went [up there relying] on their permits from Bay des Puans as far as the Illinois; and that they even carried away the property of the traders.<sup>170</sup>

### XXIII. Campaign of Monsieur Denonville against the Irroquois

I was sent to that bay, carrying a commission to be commander-in-chief there, and in the regions further toward the west, and even of those which I might be able to discover.<sup>171</sup> Monsieur de la Durantaye then re-

<sup>170</sup> "Cf. La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 143. In 1685, while La Salle at the head of a new expedition landed on the coast of Texas, his lieutenant in the country of the Illinois, Chevalier de Tonty, continued the interdiction to the *coureurs de bois* of trade with the savages of those regions. Monsieur de Denonville wrote thus to the Marquis de Seignelay: 'I have been told that Monsieur de Tonty will not allow our Frenchmen to go trading in the Illinois country. If the king has given that country to Monsieur de la Salle alone, it would be proper that you should have the goodness to notify me of that fact, to the end that I may conform to the orders of his Majesty' (letter of September 13, 1685; in archives of the Marine)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>171</sup> "In the spring of 1685 Perrot arrived at the post of Saint François Xavier, on the Bay of Puans, and took possession of the command which Monsieur de la Barre had just entrusted to him; and almost immediately he set out on a journey to the country of the Sioux, the most remote of all the lands which were under his jurisdiction. On August 1 of the same year, Monsieur de Denonville, the new governor of Canada, arrived at Quebec, charged by the [French] minister, among other things, to oppose all new expeditions, and those to remote regions — as we learn from himself in a letter of September 13 to the Marquis de Seignelay (in the archives of the Marine): 'There are some of our Frenchmen who are among the Outaouas, who say that they have

lieved Monsieur de la Valtrie, who had been commanding officer there in the Irroquois campaign.

I had no sooner arrived in the region where I was to govern than I received orders from Monsieur Denonville to go back with all the Frenchmen whom I had. I was unable to do so without abandoning the goods which I had been compelled to borrow from the mer-

orders from Monsieur de la Barre to go to the Mississippi. I know that it is not your intention to allow our Frenchmen to ramble so far away; and I will do my best to bring them back.' This explains to us the command given to Perrot to return to the Bay, with all those who had followed him to the Mississippi. It was not long before the Marquis de Seignelay changed his ideas entirely; and Perrot, who was recalled in 1685 from the country of the Sioux, received four years later a definite order to take possession of it in the name of the King." In fulfilment of this order, Perrot formally took possession for France of "the Bay of Puants, the lake and rivers of the Outagamis and Maskoutins, the river of Ouiskonche and that of Missisipi, the country of the Nadouesieux, the Sainte Croix River and [that of] Saint Peter, and other places farther removed." Among the witnesses were Father Joseph J. Marest, a Jesuit missionary then among the Dakotas, the voyageur Le Sueur, and Boisguillot, commandant (under Perrot) "of the French in the vicinity of the Ouiskonche on the Mississipi." The act of taking possession is in the archives of the Marine; it is dated at the post of Saint Antoine (anglicized as St. Anthony), May 8, 1689. "To maintain peace and friendly relations among the savages, and between them and the Canadian traders or *coureurs de bois*; to reëstablish harmony where it was disturbed; to go in quest of new countries, and to engage their inhabitants in alliance with France; and finally, in time of war to bring together the French and the friendly tribes, and march at their head: such were the principal functions of the command entrusted to Perrot, as we can assure ourselves by our memoir (pages 139, 146), by the act above cited, and by the following lines from a letter by the Marquis de Denonville to Monsieur de la Durantaye (June 6, 1686; in archives of the Marine): 'If Nicolas Perrot could call together some savages, in order to add them to [the forces of] Monsieur du Lhude (Du Lhut) when the time for that shall come, he would have to plan for that at an early date.' " Apparently the office conferred upon Perrot by La Barre — that of commander-in-chief of the Bay and the lands adjoining — left him responsible to the governor only; but in the following autumn Denonville, the new governor, placed under La Durantaye's authority, as commandant at Michillimakinak, all the Frenchmen who were then in the upper lake region (letters of Denonville to Seignelay, Oct. 12, 1685, and June 12, 1686; in archives of the Marine). The same arrangement prevailed under Frontenac. As Perrot set out for his voyage to the Bay, he heard of the war begun between the Outagamis on one side, and the Sioux and Chippewas on the other. He hastened to Michillimakinak, with instructions from La Barre to pacify the hostile tribes, which he succeeded in doing, and then went to the Bay (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 166-186). — TAILHAN.



chants for my voyage. At that time I was in the country of the Scioux, where the ice had broken up all our canoes, and I was compelled to spend the summer there; meanwhile I devoted myself to procuring boats so that I could go to Michillimakinak, but the canoes did not reach me until the autumn [1686].

In the beginning of the winter I received other orders, to call together all the Frenchmen and savages whom I should find within my reach and along my route, in order to go with them to [a place] near the lake where the Tsonontouans are settled. Immediately I set out, and I invited the Miamis [to go] to this war, which they promised me to do; but the Loups, who were their neighbors, dissuaded them from it, making them believe that the French intended to betray them, and to make the Irroquois eat them when they joined the former.

I went by land to the village of the Miamis, who were about sixty leagues distant from my post; and I returned by land, the same as I had gone. I learned on the road, before arriving there, that a body of fifteen hundred men from the tribes of the Bay – Renards, Maskouetechs, Kikapous – who were going to war against the Scioux, intended to pillage my stock of merchandise, knowing that I was not there; and that they were planning to do the same to the Frenchmen further up, and to kill them. Some of them had come, therefore, as spies to my post, to find out the condition of affairs there, under the pretext of trading for powder; and they carried back to the camp [of the warriors above-mentioned] the information that within the fort<sup>172</sup> they had seen only four persons.

When I returned thither the next day, two others of

<sup>172</sup> "Perrot's fort was located on the left bank of the Mississippi, eighty or ninety leagues from the mouth of the Wisconsin, and not far from the Pelée



those savages came to the fort, who found me there. I told them that I must talk with their chiefs, of whom I named to them seven or eight of the more prominent. They returned to their camp, and the very men whom I had named to them came to visit me.

The sentinel who was on duty notified me of their arrival. I had always taken care to keep the gate of the fort closed; I had it opened in order that they might enter, and conducted them into my cabin. They saw there many guns in good condition, provided with good flints and locks. The two spies who had previously come had likewise seen the guns. I made them believe that we [Frenchmen] numbered forty men, not counting those whom I had sent out to hunt. They believed this, just as I said it, because the men whom they had seen there, going into a cabin, quickly changed their clothing and again appeared before them.

I had some food given to them, and meanwhile I reproached them for their treacherous purpose of trying

Island which has been already mentioned. (Cf. Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. iii, 398.)" — TAILHAN.

In 1888 were discovered, at a spot about one mile north of the present Trempealeau, Wis., relics which apparently indicated the site of an early French post; and it is supposed that this was Perrot's headquarters during the winter season of 1685-1686. (Cf. note 128 in this volume.) For location of forts erected by him in Wisconsin, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. x, 59-63, 299-372, 504-506; for view of the site near Trempealeau, see vol. xvi, 164. — ED.

The discovery of the Mississippi in 1673, and the explorations of La Salle in Louisiana a few years later, opened the way for the French to establish trading-posts, military stations, and colonies in the great Mississippi Valley and the region of the Great Lakes. The trading-posts of the English were mainly in the great northwest beyond Lake Superior (under the control of the Hudson Bay company), and to the south of the French "sphere of influence;" but in this latter region trade gradually pushed its way to the west and north until there were frequent clashes and much jealousy between the French and English traders. "The trading post was generally a large square inclosed by a stockade; diagonally at two corners were turrets, with openings for small cannon and rifles in each turret so as to defend two sides of the wall. Within the stockade were the store-houses, quarters for the men, and a room for general trade."

— ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



SITE OF PERROT'S FORT, 1685-1686



to plunder my goods and kill the Frenchmen. I told them of every point in their conspiracy. I also made them understand that they were at that moment at my disposal, but that I was not a traitor, like them; and that my only demand from them was, to give up the war that they were on the way to undertake, and rather to turn their arms against the Irroquois. [I added that] two sentinels were all the time stationed at the two bastions of the fort, both having many guns at hand, and relays were on duty all night long. These savages confessed to me that they had been plotting; I made them some presents, in order to induce them to obey me, and received from them, verbally, all sorts of amends.

The next day the main body of that band arrived, and they thought that they could enter [the fort] all at once; I held the chiefs in my power within it, and I warned them that they were dead men at the first act of violence that their men should commit, for we would begin with them. My Frenchmen, under arms, kept well on their guard. There were some of the chiefs whom I detained, who climbed up on the gate of the fort, and called out to their men that matters were amicably settled between them and us. They entreated me to buy their peltries in exchange for ammunition, so that they could go hunting for buffalo. I had them enter by turns, and, after I had traded with them for what they had, they separated, each to his allotted place, to carry on their hunt. A few days afterward, I set out with two Frenchmen, to go across the country to the Bay; and at every turn I encountered some of those savages, who showed me the best roads and entertained me very hospitably. When I reached the Bay, I held conferences with the tribes there. In the spring [1687] I set out with all the young men, and arrived at Michil-

1689



limakinak one afternoon. Monsieur de la Durantaye had gone away in the morning with the Frenchmen; who had not been able to make the Outaoüas resolve to go on the war-path. As soon as they saw me, they told me to wait for them a few days, since they were intending to go away with me; they said that their canoes were not in good condition, and that when these were ready they would follow the French. I believed them, and waited for them during a week. Monsieur de la Durantaye arrested thirty Englishmen who had come to trade with the Outaoüas, and confiscated all their goods; and he caused the best part of these, and especially their brandy, to be distributed among the Outaoüas. Those savages had preserved a keg of it, containing twenty-five *pots*,<sup>173</sup> in order to get my men drunk and contrive to entice them away; they did what they could and gave my men a keg full; but I was informed of it, and had the keg staved in before me, and the brandy poured out upon the ground.<sup>174</sup>

I embarked with my people, after I had sharply upbraided the Outaoüas; and I joined Monsieur de la Durantaye, who had met Monsieur de Tonty at the fort of Monsieur de Lude, located at Détroit. They had arrested thirty more Englishmen, and were on the point of going back [to Michillimakinak] if I had not arrived; for sixty Englishmen had already become too

<sup>173</sup> The *pot* is a measure containing two French pints, equivalent to 3.29 English pints. — ED.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. La Potherie's somewhat fuller account (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 201-204). Denonville wrote to Seignelay (letter of Aug. 25, 1687; in archives of Marine): "It is certain that if these two parties of Englishmen had not been seized and plundered, and if their brandies and other merchandise had been carried into Missilimakinak, all our Frenchmen would have had their throats cut in a revolt of all the Hurons and Outaouas, which would have been imitated by all the other tribes farther west. This is a fact known to all our Frenchmen, by reason of the presents which the former had sent secretly to all the distant savages." — TAILHAN.

many enemies for them, and had narrowly escaped being killed by the very savages who had accompanied them, inasmuch as the Frenchmen had become intoxicated on the liquor that they had plundered from the Englishmen; and that would have occurred, if the officers had not kept the prisoners under guard. They feared that the Irroquois, having information of their advance, would prepare ambuscades for them; and that, if the English joined the enemy, they might be defeated. My arrival caused them to resume their voyage the next morning, without any fear, on account of the assistance furnished to them by my party; and at the end of two days we reached Niagara, where we threw up an intrenchment to defend ourselves from the Irroquois if they came to attack us. We spent several days in that place; the Outaoüas and Hurons joined us there, who reached us by land from Thehegagon, and left their canoes opposite, in Lake Huron. They decided to follow [us], when they saw that the tribes at the Bay had refused to believe them; for it would have been a cause for shame to them not to be present in an encounter with the enemy, if any such had occurred when they had seen their allies pass by their place of abode.

We there received orders from Monsieur Denonville, and advanced toward the Tsonontouans; and our people arrived there at the same time when he did.

Monsieur Denonville, having caused an intrenchment to be constructed on the shore of the lake [Ontario], marched with his troops against the villages; and, at half a league from the nearest one, fought against eight hundred Irroquois, who were in ambuscade and were beaten back [July, 1687]. On the next day our people encamped in the village itself, and laid waste all the cleared lands about it. During that time

the Hurons and Outaoüas led astray the savages down here [i.e., in Lower Canada], and induced them to consent to that notion [of not continuing the war].

Monsieur Denonville ordered me to harangue them and reproach them for their cowardice in refusing to continue their victories. I induced them to follow us everywhere.

The campaign being accomplished, I went down to the colony with Monsieur Denonville in order that I might, as a mediator, ask from him peace for the Irroquois with the French and all the savage allies. Although word of this was sent to the Outaoüas, and they were forbidden, in the governor's name, to go to war, they did so, in spite of Monsieur de la Durantaye.

I have set down in the memoirs which I have presented to you, Monseigneur, what is of usual occurrence among those peoples, who always desire what we do not, and who take sides through [a spirit of] contradiction. In order to succeed with them, it is necessary to know how to manage them; otherwise it is difficult to do anything with them.

You will readily understand, by these memoirs, that the savages are by nature treacherous, above all the Hurons and the Outaoüas. I have related many examples of their treachery, and I would never come to an end if I undertook to expatiate thereon. It will be sufficient that I here cite a few more of such instances, which have not been hitherto set down.

#### XXIV. Huron treachery, rendered abortive, against all the Outaoüa tribes

The Rat,<sup>175</sup> who died at Montréal, [August 2, 1701], went to see the Irroquois and proposed to them the de-

<sup>175</sup> "Kondiaronk, or 'the Rat,' chief of the Petun Hurons, gave throughout



struction of the Outaoüa tribes [1689]. They agreed together that the Irroquois should come with a large force to Michillimakinak, and that they should send scouts ahead to observe and examine the places in which they could attack the Outaoüas. It was resolved that the Hurons should occupy the flank of the fort; that the Rat should confer with all the tribes at the Bay and the Saulteurs, and invite them, in behalf of the Irroquois (who would not fail to come there to see them), to repair to this fort in order to confirm more thoroughly the peace which they had made together, and which the governor had made them conclude; but that it was proper and even necessary to form another and a new one among themselves, independently of that one, which would be more substantial and assured [than the governor's]. The Irroquois, in order to persuade them more easily to this, had given presents of collars to the Rat, in order that he might offer them to the other Outaoüa

the course of his long career numerous proofs of bravery and political ability. No one perhaps among the savage chiefs of New France, excepting Pontiac—who equaled and even surpassed him—deserves to be compared with him. Toward the end of his life he seemed to become more closely attached to the French cause, and died regretted and lamented by all. In the histories of Canada may be found much detailed information regarding this illustrious leader, who had nothing of the savage save in name and apparel.” — TAILHAN.

Adario, a Tionontate chief, was also known as Kondiaronk and Sastaretsi. The French authorities in 1688 persuaded him to lead an expedition against the Iroquois, but on the road he learned that the latter were on the point of concluding peace with the French. Exasperated at this, he captured the Iroquois envoys on their road to Montreal, and told them that the French had commissioned him to kill them; but he set them at liberty, save one, and told them to take revenge on the French. He then brought about the execution of this captive by the French commander at Michillimackinac. These transactions, with Adario's falsehoods, so angered the Iroquois that they planned and carried out the fearful massacre of the French at and near Montreal, Aug. 25, 1689, and ravaged the settlements on the St. Lawrence. In later years, however, Adario was converted to the Christian faith by a Jesuit missionary, and became a friend to the French. He died at Montreal in 1701, while he was negotiating a peace between the Iroquois and the tribes of the upper country. — ED.



tribes when they should be assembled. They furnished to the latter much stronger assurances besides, by sending them word that they could [thus] secure a good stronghold; for it was the purpose of the Irroquois, according to the measures that they had taken, to render the Hurons masters of a stockade which they were to undermine. By this method the assault was sure [of success], because the Hurons fired off only powder. This treachery was at last disclosed; for an Aniez who came to Michillimakinak to trade met at Sakinang some Amikouëts and other savages, who received him as a friend and even gave him some peltries. They were so kind to him that he could not refrain from revealing this conspiracy to the chief of the Amikouëts (whose name was Aumanimek), one of my good friends—who, knowing that I was to go up from Montréal to the Outaouas, waited for me, in order to winter with me at the place where, on those voyages, it is necessary to halt, so as to spend the winter there.

I arrived at his place of abode, and immediately we set out to go to the bay of the Puans; and on the way to Michillimakinak he made known to me the treacherous plan [of the Hurons]. I informed the reverend Fathers [there] of what he had told me; and they employed me to tell the Rat—but without naming the Aniez, or the chief of the Amikouëts—that he was the author of this plot. They sent for him, and told him that they had learned, from the lips of the Irroquois themselves, the design that the latter entertained of destroying the Outaoua peoples. The Fathers, in order to convict him more forcibly, told him the means which had been agreed upon for the success of his scheme, and all that he had planned in order the better to deceive them; he could not deny it, and the whole plan fell through.

It is well known that the Hurons have always sought the destruction of the tribes in the upper country, and that they have never been strongly attached to the French; but they have not dared to declare their feelings openly. When they have had war with the Irroquois, it has been only in appearance, for in reality they were at peace with the latter; and they have protested to the Irroquois that we held them as captives in the colony, and that they carried arms against the Irroquois only by compulsion, without being able to do otherwise, since they were in the midst of the French and the Outaoüas, who would have caused them annoyance and trouble if they had refused to obey.

After the campaign of Monsieur Denonville against the Tsonontouans, deputies [from the Hurons] arrived among them to make their excuses because they had accompanied the French army. The Tsonontouans made answer that the Hurons did not come until the grass had grown tall, and when only the tops of their heads could be seen—meaning that they had not come to warn them of their misfortune until it had happened. The Hurons told them that they must have had information of it beforehand, through an Aniez whom they had sent. It is true, moreover, that two Aniez arrived at Michillimakinak, just as the [French] voyageurs were about to depart to join the army below, in the Tsonontouan country. The commanders had confidence in the fidelity of one of the two, against the opinion of all their followers; and this man deserted us when eight leagues from the [Tsonontouan] village. Without that, we would have found the enemy at home; for when we reached the shore of the lake they began to take flight and to burn their village.

## XXV. Another piece of Huron treachery

The Hurons, seeing that Monsieur de Louvigny (who was commander-in-chief<sup>176</sup>) was, together with the Outaoüas, unwilling that the Hurons should change [the location of] their village—knowing perfectly well that their only purpose in quitting that place was, that they might go to give themselves up to the Irroquois—separated; and half of them went to live with the Miamis on the Saint Joseph River.<sup>177</sup> Monsieur de Louvigny having been recalled by that time, we had for commandant in his place Monsieur de la Motte [1695].<sup>178</sup>

At that time I was at the Bay, from which place I sent sixty men (as I have set down in my other memoirs), who were followed by Hurons and Outaoüas, and who went rather to warn the Irroquois than to make

<sup>176</sup> "Monsieur de la Porte Louvigny was first appointed commandant at Michillimakinak in the month of April, 1690. He arrived there toward the end of July or the first of August in the same year, and remained in that post until some time in 1694, when he was recalled by the Count de Frontenac, and replaced by Monsieur de la Mothe-Cadillac. Later (in 1712) he was ordered to go back and resume [the French] possession of that post, which had been abandoned for several years." — TAILHAN.

<sup>177</sup> "In 1693 Count de Frontenac sent Monsieur de Courtemanche to reside, in the capacity of commandant, among the Miamis of Saint Joseph; and he wrote to the minister (letter of Oct. 15, 1693; in the archives of the Marine): 'His presence among those savages (who have great confidence in him), and his good management, will be very useful in preventing the English from intruding there, as I have been informed they are planning to do.'" — TAILHAN.

<sup>178</sup> "This refers to Monsieur de la Mothe-Cadillac, who held commands at Michillimakinak, at Detroit, and in Louisiana, successively." — TAILHAN.

Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac came to America when a young man, and settled in Acadia. Losing all his property there by English invasions (1690-1691), he removed to Quebec and entered the Canadian military service, receiving a command therein from Frontenac. During 1694-1697 he was commandant at Mackinac, and in 1701 established the post of Detroit, which he governed for ten years. From 1712 to 1715 he was governor of Louisiana; and he died in France, Oct. 18, 1730. His "Relation: Missilimakinak, etc." is printed in Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français* (Paris, 1876-1886), vol. v, 75-132. — ED.



war on them; they found, nevertheless, that they were compelled to fight, as I have previously related.

Since the establishment of Détroit, have not the Hurons conspired to murder the Frenchmen who garrisoned that place, commanded by Monsieur de la Motte [1704 or 1707]? and if their plots have been eluded it is only by the vigilance [of the French] in keeping on their guard.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>179</sup> "Perrot doubtless alludes to the plot formed against Detroit, in 1708, by the Hurons, the Miamis, and some Iroquois (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 322, 324). Like Perrot, Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot attributed the main part in this affair to the Petun Hurons; they wrote thus to the minister (joint despatch of November 14, 1708): 'Le Pesant [an Ottawa chief] was received at Detroit by Monsieur de la Mothe, and the Hurons and Miamis were so incensed at seeing him there that in the spring of 1708 those two tribes, with a score of Iroquois who were returning from a raid into the plains country, laid a plot to massacre Monsieur de la Mothe and all the Frenchmen who were in the fort, as well as the Ottawa savages settled there.' I should, in this connection, observe that the various acts of treachery, actual or attempted, of which Perrot here accuses the Huron peoples (and to which we shall have to give attention farther on) ought to be imputed only to the tribe of which I have just spoken. The other Hurons, who took refuge at Lorette, near Quebec, rendered their service to France until the last, with unshaken devotion and courage. Even to-day they are French in language and religion. According to the latest Canadian census (1861) the Hurons at New Lorette number 261, all Catholics; but this has not prevented certain magazines from announcing (1862) the death of the last of the Hurons. As for the Petun Hurons, they were, like so many other tribes, forced to leave Michigan, and to go into exile beyond the Mississippi, into what is called 'the Indian Territory.'"

— TAILHAN.

When the great Huron confederacy of tribes dwelling around Lake Simcoe and south and east of Georgian Bay was ruined and dispersed by the Iroquois in 1649, a part of the fugitive Hurons took shelter with the Tionontati — called by the French "Huron de Pétun" ("Tobacco Hurons") because they cultivated the tobacco — a people of kindred race who resided not far westward from the Huron country. They too were attacked in the same year by the fierce Iroquois, and one of their towns destroyed; the rest of the Tionontati, with the refugee Hurons, fled for safety westward from place to place, reaching northern Wisconsin (about 1657), and the Illinois country by 1659; they were kindly received by the Algonquian tribes, but soon incurred the hostility of the Sioux, and retreated to Chequamegon Bay, where they settled among the Ottawas. These fugitives were all classed by the French as "Hurons," and known by that name under the French régime — dwelling at Michillimackinac after 1670, from which place they gradually scattered to Detroit and various places in the region of Lake Erie. After the English conquest of Canada,



## XXVI. Treachery of the Outaouias toward the French

Many times, also, have the Outaouias been known to plot against the Frenchmen who were trading with them. Have they not, to my knowledge, presented the dagger to all the tribes of the upper country, in order to incite them to become accomplices in the foul attempt that they longed to make, and to urge them on to massacre those [Frenchmen] who were trading with them? I speak as an eyewitness, for I caused their enterprise to miscarry.<sup>180</sup>

It is known that they murdered the Miami chiefs who had come to confer with the French at Détroit, and whom they attacked on that occasion [1706]. When the Illinois, aided by the French, fought against the Renards, were not they [i.e., the Hurons] ready to massacre the French, if the Renards had [not] been entirely defeated [1712]? It is an indisputable fact that they slew some Irroquois who had put themselves under the protection of the fort at Katarakouy [1704]. Have not we seen the Irroquois help to burn some Sakis who had been captured by them?<sup>181</sup>

these Hurons became known as Wyandots (a corruption of their own original appellation, Wendat); and they acquired great influence among the north-western tribes. In 1842 they removed to Kansas, and in 1867 were placed on a reservation still occupied by them in northeastern Oklahoma.

— J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Hurons."

<sup>180</sup> "The historians of Canada say nothing, to my knowledge, of this conspiracy by the Outaouais against the *coureurs de bois* of the colony." — TAILHAN.

<sup>181</sup> "In regard to the massacre of the Miami chiefs by the Outaouais, the defeat of the Outagamis by the French and the Illinois, and the murder of the Iroquois chiefs at Katarakouy, the reader may turn to Charlevoix (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 292, 307-309, 365-372). In the same history will also be found some details regarding the murder of three Frenchmen by the Miamis of Saint Joseph (*ibid.*, 322, 323). From 1675 discord prevailed between the Miamis and the Illinois (Letter and journal of Father Marquette), and there was a new outbreak of it in 1687 (Ms. *Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada*) . . .

The Miamis have slain Frenchmen, the Illinois likewise, the Saulteurs the same, as also the people of the north. On their part there has been only conspiracy against us, without our having made any movement to

the two tribes, however, in 1691 were reconciled, and marched together against the Iroquois (*Journal of Sieur de Courtemanche*; in the archives of the Marine). The murders and treacherous acts ascribed by Perrot to the western tribes must not be too literally understood as such; usually the murders were mere reprisals, and often had only too good reason. Denonville wrote to Seignelay (Letter of June 12, 1686; in archives of the Marine): "It is a marvel that the savages have not killed them all with their clubs, to protect themselves from the acts of violence which they have suffered from the French." This explains the seizure of Perrot's property by the Miamis, and their threat to burn him; it was by way of retaliation for attacks made on them by some French *coureurs de bois*. As for plots and treason, it must be remembered that the Indians often found it necessary to deal for themselves with enemies from whom the colonial government was either unable or unwilling to protect them; that they sometimes had reason to fear the results of greater friendship between the French and the Iroquois; that very often they sought commercial relations with the English, as being much more advantageous to them than were their dealings with the Canadian merchants; and that those tribes were allies, not subjects, of France, so that their actions just mentioned could not properly be called intrigues or treachery. It must not be forgotten, also, that with very few exceptions the Indian tribes of the west remained faithful to the cause of France until the end of the French domination in America. Frontenac, Denonville, and other French officials had the same distrust of the Indians as Perrot; but the latter governor admitted that they were attracted to the English by the better market thus afforded for the sale of their peltries. As proof of this, is cited a Ms. dated 1689, in the archives of the Marine, showing the difference in prices at Orange [Albany] and Montreal; for one beaver-skin an Indian received at Orange forty pounds of lead, or a red blanket, or a large overcoat, or four shirts, or six pairs of hose, while at Montreal each of these items cost him two pelts, and even three for the above quantity of lead. A gun cost two pelts at Orange, and five at Montreal; and one pelt procured for the Indian eight pounds of gunpowder from the English, while the French demanded four for that quantity. "The other petty wares which the savages buy in trade from the French are given to them by the English as part of the bargain. The English give six *pots* of brandy for one beaver-skin; this is rum, or *guildive* (otherwise sugar-cane brandy), which they import from the islands of America [i.e., the West Indies]. The French have no standard [of price] for the brandy trade; some give more, and others less, but they never go so high as one *pot* for one beaver-skin. . . . It is to be noted that the English make no difference as regards the quality of the beaver-skins, which they buy all at the same price — which is more than fifty per cent higher than the French give; and, besides, there is more than one hundred per cent difference in the value of their trade and that of ours." — TAILHAN.

avenge ourselves. What conclusions may not one draw from the result? Ought we not to conjecture that [even] if the Renards were entirely overthrown (which they are not yet) still other wars would arise; and that the assistance which these traitors obtain from the colony, in order to aid in destroying them, will conduce only to the same destruction for the French? and then they will destroy one another. For there is not a savage tribe which does not bear ill-will to some other. The Miamis and the Illinois hate each other reciprocally; the Irroquois have malicious feelings toward the Outaoüas and the Saulteurs; and it is the same with the other tribes. There is not one of those peoples that does not consider itself justified in waging war against the others; accordingly, we can only expect successive and inevitable wars, unless we [do something to] prevent them. But I fear that we are preparing too late to prevent these wars, and that the fire is kindled so brightly that it cannot be extinguished, on account of the aid which the French continue to furnish to other tribes out of consideration for that of the Hurons, who are more treacherous and crafty than all the others; for they would no [longer] be in existence if the French had not protected them, although they have many times incurred our indignation. Such, therefore, are the matters on which I can give you information; I would enlarge somewhat further on them if [my supply of] paper had permitted it. But you can, as a result of what I have [here] set down, easily understand what are the traits of the savages. The instance of the Tsonontouans will readily convince you that it is impossible to depend on any of the tribes; and that it is much better to let them settle their quarrels among themselves than to meddle therein, unless this is to reconcile them. Such arrangements as had [already] been



adroitly made would have instilled in their minds notions of fear and subordination; because the Renards, who are almost destroyed, would have only waited for the disobedience of any one of their enemies to join themselves to the people whom the enemy had tried to attack. Thus the Renards, timorous and defeated, would have been forced to agree to the peace, and the others would find themselves compelled to accept it.

It may be objected to this that all the tribes would be ranged on the side of the English. Alas! are not they [already] thus ranged? Where are the peoples who do not allow themselves to be attracted by cheap merchandise? Do the Hurons, in whom we have most confidence, furnish many peltries to Détroit and Montréal? Do not they prefer to carry their furs to the English, and do not they give them to the Miamis? Do not the Illinoetz go among those [English] who are established in Louysianne? It is, then, a weak argument to be brought forward, when one means that the tribes would go to give themselves up to the Irroquois; since the latter are more friendly toward the Renards (who are on good terms with the Irroquois) than to any other of the peoples whom they have ruined since the peace concluded between them and the French.<sup>182</sup> It is also an

<sup>182</sup> "Even when they were at peace with the French, the Iroquois attacked without scruple the savages allied with us; and it is thus that they dealt with the Illinois in the course of the years 1674-1679. They were urged on in this by the English colonists of Boston, Manhattan [New York], and Orange [Albany], who saw therein a means for enlarging their territories, or at the very least of assuring to themselves the monopoly of the peltries. The Count de Frontenac and the Marquis de Denonville complain bitterly of this in their despatches; and the latter is especially astonished that such practices were permitted at a time when the closest friendship reigned between the two crowns of France and England. But of what importance were the most solemn treaties to those merchants? those who, in order to force the western tribes to implore their mediation with the Iroquois, and to win it by carrying to them their precious furs, went so far as to set at naught the reiterated prohibitions of their own sovereign. More than that, they were seen — always to the same end — to



argument that has no foundation, to try to maintain that the tribes will place themselves under the rule of the English because they carry their peltries to that people—which it would have been easy to prevent if we had showed less condescension to them and had not been so ready to comply with their humors; it is this which is the source of their arrogant notion that the French cannot get along without them, and that we could not maintain ourselves in the Colony without the assistance that they give us.

I hope that you will be pleased, Monseigneur, to examine this memoir and the others which I have had the honor to place before you;<sup>183</sup> and that in reflecting thereon you will recognize that, at the establishment of

treat their own brethren of Virginia as they had treated the French of Canada. Indeed we know—and it is the Marquis de Denonville who tells us of it (Letter of Aug. 10, 1688; in archives of the Marine)—that for a long time past they 'maintained war with those of Virginia, for fear that the Iroquois might trade with the latter. I know that the merchants of Orange have given presents to the Iroquois for that. If then they are faithless to their own countrymen, how will they be trustworthy with us?'—TAILHAN.

<sup>183</sup> "The bishop of Quebec, the governor, and the intendant were the only persons in the colony who had right to the title of Monseigneur; it is therefore one of these three personages that Perrot here addresses. But the first two must be dismissed from our consideration: one, on account of his being, by his vocation, a stranger to most of the questions discussed in these memoirs; the other (the Marquis de Vaudreuil), because the author speaks of him a little farther on (page 266) in the third person. It must therefore be the intendant, Monsieur Bégon, for whom Perrot composed these relations; moreover, it was from the hands of this magistrate that, three years later (1720-1721), Father Charlevoix received the manuscript of the present memoir (see his *Histoire*, vol. ii, pp. lx, lxi). The other memoirs which Perrot had sent to the intendant of Canada, and to which he refers for fuller details regarding the events which he only mentions here, contained a narrative of the war by the Iroquois against the tribes of the upper country and the Illinois, as well as the frequent acts of treachery of which the savages—and more especially the Hurons and the Ottawas—were guilty (Perrot, 129, 130, 143, 146). I am strongly inclined to believe that La Potherie has inserted the greater part of these relations in the second volume of his history. It is, in fact, to be noted that (1) La Potherie was acquainted with Perrot in Canada, and that he received from him the most exact information (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 87; vol. iv, 268; (2) his second volume, almost throughout, could have been written only by means of the data

the Colony, we began at the outset to assert our authority over the savages (although at that time it contained very few Frenchmen), and we were careful to maintain ourselves in that superiority, despite all the changes that might occur—notwithstanding that the savages were then more numerous and more barbarous—I mean, more brutish—than they now are. But to-day, when they are weaker and more humanized, they try to be masters over us; and already they push their insolence so far as to flatter themselves, if I may say so, that they have a right to lay down the law for us, for they see that we tolerate them and leave them in immunity. If the French, instead of that, had made them understand as they should the obligations under which they are to us, the assistance that we have given them, and that, in a word, the continuance of their maintenance and protection is in our power, they would feel more respect, regard, and obedience toward their benefactors.

## XXVII. Of the insolence and vainglory of the savages, and what has given rise to it

[All the savages who trade with the French are such only in name; equally with ourselves, they are bent on availing themselves of everything that they see and understand can be to their advantage.] Ambition and vainglory are, as I have already stated, the supreme passions that sway them.] They see the French commit, through self-interest, a thousand mean acts before their

furnished by Perrot, whose voyages, adventures, and even numerous harangues to the savages are recounted therein at great length; (3) the style in this same volume, save in a very small number of pages, is very noticeably different from that of the three others, and by its loose, incorrect, and perplexing constructions it most often recalls, if I am not mistaken, the style of Perrot—which cannot be explained on the hypothesis of merely verbal communications made by the latter to La Potherie.” — TAILHAN.

eyes, every day, in order to be numbered among their friends and to acquire their peltries—not only in the Colony, but also in their own country.<sup>184</sup> They perceive that the commandants, like the rest, trade with them; for among the savages it is the custom of the chiefs to give freely, and this [trading by officials] seems to them so much the more odious. They are so presumptuous as to believe that we dare [not] chastise them, or make their families feel our anger, when they commit any fault; for they, however culpable, see that they are supported by influential persons, and that a Frenchman—very often innocent, and justified by the law—is punished on account of quarrels that he has had with them. That results in their abusing Frenchmen, and especially when they see punishment inflicted on the person against whom they have made complaints. The interpreters, or else those who direct them, are very often the cause of this, through the unfair partiality which such persons usually have for them. Such acts of injustice, even though in their favor, make them feel so great a contempt for us that they regard those of the French nation as wretched menials and the most miser-

<sup>184</sup> A *Mémoire historique* in the archives of the Marine, on the beaver-trade monopoly and its detrimental effects, says: "The *coureurs de bois* often committed a thousand base acts with the savages in order to obtain their beaver-skins; they followed them even in their hunting expeditions, and did not even give them time to dry and prepare their pelts. They endured the stinging jeers, the contempt, and sometimes the blows of those savages, who were lost in wonder at covetousness so sordid, and at seeing the French come from so great a distance, with so much fatigue and expense, in order to gather up dirty and foul-smelling beaver-skins, with which they clothed themselves, and which they no longer valued. . . . In order to understand fully the meaning of this last phrase, it is necessary to remember that the beaver-skins most in demand by the French were those which they designated by the name *castor gras d'hiver* ["greasy winter pelts"]—that is, the skins of beavers killed during the winter, and of which the savages had made robes for themselves, which they had worn long enough to render them greasy, by their sweat penetrating to the roots of the fur (another Ms. in those archives, on 'the leasing of the Western Domain;' and cf. La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. i, 136)." — TAILHAN.



able people in the world. See how we have managed them for some time past!

[Some of them have become so haughty that it is necessary to treat them at the present time with a sort of submissiveness. If they talk with the authorities of the country, it is in a manner so lofty and imperious that the latter would not dare, as it were, [to refuse] what the savages have to demand;] and if they did not obtain it they would not fear to display their resentment. In earlier days we did not let ourselves govern [them] in this fashion; we knew how to indulge them in a proper way, and when they deserved it, whether in the colony or in their own country; we were likewise strict in punishing them when they were in fault. I have cited several examples of this sort in this memoir. But how many times I have compelled them to submit, when they have spoken evil of Monsieur the governor, and to go to him with presents, confessing their fault! When they have undertaken to plot some undertaking against the [welfare of the] state, I have obliged them to desist from it. This memoir bears witness to this in many places; and if any one undertakes to find fault with what I advance I am ready to prove its truth—making them thoroughly understand that all which I have related is entirely accurate, by the testimony of two hundred persons worthy of confidence, who have seen and known what I have accomplished in their country—I mean, that of the savage tribes—for the glory and the benefit of the colony.

Do we not continually see Frenchmen, before our very eyes, who were only worthless menials—but who, after having run away to the woods, amassed wealth which they as quickly dissipated—thrust themselves forward to relate marvelous tales to the authorities, who



have given credence to them, and, thinking to act for the best according to the statements made to them by such men, have brought all the affairs [of the frontiers] to ruin, and have reduced them to so pitiable a condition that it will be very difficult to restore them [to their former state]? It has been proposed, as a beginning, to destroy the Renards, in order to cause everything to flourish; I have presented to Monseigneur de Vaudreuil a memoir on this subject, which has been thwarted, since it has not produced its [intended] effect. He has recognized, by the consequences, that what I set forth therein has come to pass, to the detriment of the colony. I desire that all may go well, but I fear the contrary; and I dread lest the proverb used in the world may prove true—that is, that the end will crown the work, to the advantage of some others than of the colony. I am unwilling to write down what I foresee, for fear of [causing] trouble to some persons who bear me ill-will, and who nevertheless would in the long run admit that I had told the truth.

When I had the honor of being commissioned to take charge of the management of the savages, liberty was allowed me to tell them my opinions [frankly]; but there are some jealous persons who have accused me of being too harsh toward them. But when I have talked seriously to the savages they have been seen to come to render submission, and to show their repentance for their fault.

When seven of the Outaoüa tribes took sides with the Irroquois, Monsieur de Louvigny sent me to put a stop to that [1690 or 1694]. I made them understand that they were going to give themselves up to people who would eventually destroy them; and that, if their father Onontio had not sustained them, they would be all de-

stroyed by this time.<sup>185</sup> I set forth to them the treachery which the Irroquois had shown to the Hurons at the time when the Miamis aided in destroying them, and united with them without showing any regard for the peace which they had formed together.

When the English have tried to entice them by presents (which they have accepted) I have made them understand that they were going to become allies of perfidious people, who had corrupted part of the tribes who came in their way; and that, after they had made the men tipsy, they had sacrificed and carried away their wives and children in order to send them into distant islands, from which they never came back.<sup>186</sup> I told them that, as they well knew, the Irroquois were like children of the English, and, in concert with the latter, would not have failed to destroy them if their father Onontio had not protected and defended them; and that the cheapness of their goods was only a bait of which the English availed themselves to become their masters, and to deliver them as a prey to the Irroquois. When they have tried to invent reasons for beginning war, have I not explained to them that this would disturb the tranquillity of their families, and that they ought rather to defend these and themselves against the Irroquois, who are altogether enemies to them?

In all their enterprises for evil, have they not yielded to my opinion that they should desist therefrom? In the absence of my superiors, I have always talked with

<sup>185</sup> "This mission, with which Perrot was charged by Monsieur de Louvigny (between 1690 and 1694), must not be confounded with that which was confided to him directly by the Count de Frontenac in the month of April, 1690, and of which we shall speak farther on. The latter was addressed to all the tribes then residing at Michillimakinak or in its vicinity." — TAILHAN.

<sup>186</sup> "Bancroft makes mention (*History of U.S.*, vol. i, chap. v) of savages being sold as slaves by the English of Connecticut, New Hampshire, the Carolinas, and Virginia." — TAILHAN.

the savages [as] in my own right; and it is this which has given opportunity to the envious to speak evil of me; moreover, it is from this [malicious interference] that have proceeded all the untoward events that have since occurred.

If I had gone up with Monsieur de Louvigny [1716, 1717], I would have flattered myself that I could induce the Renards to ask for peace, even though our allies were not inclined to it.

XXVIII. Harangue which ought to have been made to all the Outaoüa Tribes, in order to bind them to the peace with the Renards and their allies

"Listen, my children," says our father Onontio, "listen," he says: "I have the grief of hearing every year the reports and accounts of massacres that are committed in your country by your destroying one another; I look in horror at the blood that has been shed, and which will yet be spilled. If I do not put an end to it, I am certain that in a short time you all will be exterminated, and that I shall no longer have any children. I love you and your families, and I desire that they [continue to] live.

"Thou, Outaoüack, art making war on the Renard, who has spared thy life, taking thy part against the Miamis when thou didst go hunting on the upper Black River;<sup>187</sup> for he would have killed thee if it had not been for the Renard and the Kikapou, who opposed his purpose.

<sup>187</sup> "The Black River has its source in a lake [Lake Morrison, in Taylor County] in the state of Wisconsin; and, after flowing through a part of that state from N.E. to S.W., falls into the Mississippi between 44° 5' and 44° 15' north latitude." — TAILHAN.



"Thou, Saulteur, hast in the same time saved the lives of all the people who lived at Mamekagan, when Chingouabé entreated the Miamis to go to eat his dogs. He was ready to betray and eat thee if the Renard, whom thou regardest as thine enemy, had been willing to agree to thy destruction. Nevertheless, thou hast slain him; he has only taken vengeance when thou hast constrained him to do so; but he has willingly restored to thee thy people, and thou still detainest his men.

"Thou, Miamis, knowest that the Renard has never waged war against thee; but he sustained and aided thee in defending thyself when thou wast routed by the Scioux.<sup>188</sup>

"Thou,<sup>189</sup> [Maskouten?], art not ignorant that thy chiefs died from a malady, when the Renard went to avenge the Miamis of the Crane,<sup>190</sup> who would have been ruined by the Scioux if the Renard had not taken pity

<sup>188</sup> "Chingouabé, chief of the Sauteurs who were settled at Chagouamigon, figures in that capacity among the deputies of the tribes from the upper country to whom the Count de Frontenac gave audience on July 18 and 29, 1695. From his speech on that occasion it is evident that at that time the Sioux were at war with the Outagamis and the Maskoutens, and that the Sauteurs were inclined to take sides with the Sioux against the latter tribes (*Relation* of 1694-1695; in archives of the Marine). Unfortunately, this does not throw much light on the events to which Perrot alludes in this passage. The one that follows is much more clear, and finds its confirmation in contemporaneous monuments, or in the early historians of Canada. These show us (1) that in 1697 the Sioux had already twice chastised the Miamis (*Relation de ce qui s'est passé au Canada en 1696, 1697*; in archives of the Marine); (2) that about the same period the Outagamis with the Miamis were waging war against the Sioux (*La Potherie, Histoire*, vol. ii, 343-352); (3) that the same thing was about to occur again in 1701, when Monsieur de Courtemanche (sent by Monsieur de Callières, governor of New France) put a stop to the expedition that was ready to begin its march (Letter of Callières, Oct. 1, 1701)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>189</sup> "The name is left blank in the Ms. This passage refers, I think, to the Maskoutens, of whom a great number were swept away by a contagious malady at the time (1690) vaguely indicated by the author (*La Potherie, Histoire*, vol. ii, 249, 250)." — TAILHAN.

<sup>190</sup> "I leave to those persons who are versed in the Illinois or the Miami language the care of finding, among the savage names given to the tribes of this latter people, the one which corresponds to the French appellation of



on them. He won their good-will by presents, and confirmed the alliance that thou didst contract with him; and with him thou hast never had war, any more than with the Kikapou, who has always dwelt in the same village with thee. On the contrary, the other Miamis have slain the relatives of thy people, this winter.

"Thou, Illinoëts, hast never had war with the Renard, or with the Kikapou; thou didst, notwithstanding, attack him when he was at Détroit. He defended himself, and you have slain each other; thou didst take thy revenge when he was defeated at Détroit, and when he returned to his own country. He captured one of thy chiefs, whom he sent back; and thou didst break the heads of his envoys; thou shouldst be content.

"Thou, Pouteoüatamis, thy tribe is half Sakis; the Sakis are in part Renards; thy cousins and thy brothers-in-law are Renards and Sakis. Pirimon and Ouenemek, who are thy chiefs, and who weep over the murders that are committed in thy families, one against another, these men are of the Sakis. I love you all," says your father Onontio, "and I desire to extinguish the fires of war, which are burning so high that, besides those people who have been [already] consumed by them from all of you, they will not fail to consume all who remain, on both sides, if I do not extinguish them.

"Thou, Huron, be content; thou hast lost thy people, but thou shouldst [not?] be avenged. Thou art too

'Miamis of the Crane,' by which Perrot here designates one among those tribes." — TAILHAN.

Perrot here alludes to the Crane clan of the Miami, the principal division of that tribe; they are called *Atchatchakangouen* by Allouez (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lviii, 40, 41), and *Tchidüakouïngouës* by La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 261). Mooney says of them (*Handbook Amer. Indians*, 107): "On account of the hostility of the Illinois they removed west of the Mississippi, where they were attacked by the Sioux; and they afterward settled near the Jesuit mission at Green Bay, and moved thence into Illinois and Indiana with the rest of the tribe." — ED.

cruel; remember what thou hast done against me and against my children thine allies, when I have come forward for thee against all, and when I protected thee—and if I had not shielded thee thou wouldst no longer be alive. Thou didst endeavor to betray me on a certain occasion, and I pardoned thee, in order to secure thy gratitude.

“Thou, Outaoüack, didst slay the Miamis at Détroit, who were under my protection; and thou didst, at the same time, assassinate some Frenchmen there and elsewhere.

“Thou, Saulteur, hast likewise slain some Frenchmen; and thou, Missisakis, hast done the same. But I have swallowed the grief that I felt over my dead, and have not chastised thee; and thou, Miamis, likewise; I have pardoned all. Indeed, far from taking my vengeance, I have aided you against the Irroquois, who was one of my faithful children, whom you have slain; but he has never made any disturbance since the latest agreement of peace, which I obliged him to make with you, and without which all of you would have been destroyed. For he was quite able to ruin you, without obtaining from me more than my willingness and consent. On the contrary, in order to maintain you I have furnished not only the assistance of my military power, but also my young men, who have been everywhere slain for your sake. I have even aided you against the Renard, who has never slain my young men.

“I ordain, my children, that you put an end to this war; and if any one disobeys me I shall declare myself against him, and for the Renard.”<sup>191</sup>

[If this had been done], all the tribes would have

<sup>191</sup> “The colonial government followed an entirely opposite policy, and declared itself against the Outagamis, but it was never able either to reduce them to submission or to destroy them wholly.” — TAILHAN.

consented to peace. This is why we ought not to fear reproaching them for their faults, any more than to remind them of the services that we have rendered to them; for it is characteristic of the savage not to forget the benefit that has been conferred upon him, on the occasions that have arisen.

Here then, Monseigneur, are my humble ideas, which would have had their good results if I had accompanied Monsieur de Louvigny. As for the Renards, I would certainly have managed affairs with them.

The scarcity of paper does not permit me to give fuller examples of this sort of harangue, as I would have been able to if I were not destitute of paper.

HISTORY OF THE SAVAGE PEOPLES who are allies of New France. By Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie<sup>192</sup> [from his *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), tome ii and iv].

The second volume of the above work is here presented for the first time in English translation, partly in full and partly in synopsis — the latter indicated by bracketed paragraphs.

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<sup>192</sup> Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie was born in the West-Indian island of Guadeloupe, about 1668. His family was allied to the noted one of Pontchartrain; and La Potherie obtained thus appointments in the marine service from 1689 on. The first important one was a post in the squadron sent under the noted commander Le Moyne d'Iberville (1697) to drive the English out of Hudson Bay. In the following year La Potherie was appointed comptroller-general of the marine and fortifications in Canada, the first incumbent of a newly-created post. In 1700 he married a lady belonging to one of the leading Canadian families, and apparently intended to settle permanently in that colony; but in the following year the deaths of his father and brother recalled him to Guadeloupe. Almost nothing is known of his subsequent life, save that both he and his wife had died by the year 1738; and before the end of the century the family had disappeared from Canada. See J. Edmond Roy's biography of La Potherie, and description of his work, in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. iii, 3-44. Therein Roy has neglected to account for the appellation "Bacqueville" in La Potherie's name; but he cites a document (dated 1738) in which that writer's son is called "seigneur de Bacqueville et de la Touche en Touraine," apparently showing that an estate of that name in France belonged to the family from which he sprang. — ED.





# HISTORY OF THE SAVAGE PEOPLES WHO ARE ALLIES OF NEW FRANCE

## Chapters I-VII

[These chapters, up to page 60, are devoted to an account of the beliefs, customs, mode of life, etc., of the Indian tribes then known to the French of Canada, with an enumeration of those peoples, and brief mention of the first acquaintance of the French with those who lived east of Lake Huron. Most of this is so similar to Perrot's account that to translate it here would be useless repetition. Accordingly, the narrative begins at page 60, with the tribes which properly are included within the field of the present work.]

The Sauteurs, who live beyond the Missisakis, take their name from a fall of water which forms the discharge of Lake Superior into Lake Huron, through extensive rapids of which the ebullitions are extremely violent. Those people are very skilful in a fishery which they carry on there, of fish which are white, and as large as salmon.<sup>193</sup> The savages surmount all those ter-

<sup>193</sup> The noted whitefish of the lakes (*Coregonus albus*); it was called by the Chippewa *atikameg* (meaning "caribou fish"), from which one of the Montagnais tribes was called Attikamegues (the Poissons-blancs, or "whitefish," by the French). Another species (*C. tullibee*) is found in the great lakes and rivers of N.W. Canada; it is of inferior quality, with watery flesh, and is known as "mongrel whitefish," also as *toulibi* or *tulibee*, corruptions of the Chippewa word *otonabi*. — A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

In the *Proceedings* of the U.S. National Museum for 1909 (vol. xxxvi, 171, 172) is a note on this fish by David S. Jordan and B. W. Evermann, to the following effect: The common whitefish of Lake Superior is the so-called "Labrador whitefish" (*Coregonus labradoricus*), characteristic of the Canadian

rible cascades, into which they cast a net<sup>194</sup> which resembles a bag, a little more than half an ell in width and an ell deep, attached to a wooden fork about fifteen feet long. They cast their nets headlong into the boiling waters, in which they maintain their position, letting their canoes drift while sliding backward. The tumult of the waters in which they are floating seems to them only a diversion; they see in it the fish, heaped up on one another, that are endeavoring to force their way through the rapids; and when they feel their nets heavy they draw them in. It is only they, the Missisakis, and the Nepiciriniens who can practice this fishery, although some Frenchmen imitate them. This kind of fish is large, has firm flesh, and is very nourishing. The savages dry it over a fire, on wooden frames placed high above, and keep it for winter. They carry on an extensive traffic in this fish at Michillimakinak, where both the savages and the French buy it at a high price. This [Sauteur] tribe is divided: part of them have remained at home to live on this delicious fish in autumn, and they

lakes generally, and only this kind is found at Sault Ste. Marie; it is apparently distinct from the whitefish of Lakes Erie and Ontario. "The Lake Superior whitefish must stand as *Coregonus clupeiformis*; the whitefish of Lake Erie is *C. albus*." — Ed.

<sup>194</sup> Nets, netting, or network were used throughout northern America by its natives — for the capture of animals (differing according to the creature to be caught, the form, or the function), "for the lacings of snowshoes and lacrosse sticks, for carrying-frames and wallets, for netted caps, for the foundation of feather work," etc. "These were made from animal tissues and vegetal fibers — wool and hair, hide, sinew, and intestines; roots, stems, bast, bark, and leaves. Animal skins were cut into long delicate strips, while sinew and vegetal fibers were separated into filaments, and these twisted, twined, or braided and made into openwork meshes by a series of technical processes ranging from the simplest weaving or coiling without foundation to regular knotting." They were made most often by the women's hands, but also with many forms of the seine needle, or shuttle; and the meshing shows a variety of processes. Holmes has shown, in his studies of ancient American pottery, that netting was used to provide ornament on vessels of clay, by molding them in it; and the same forms of netting are used in ancient garments, especially those into which feathers were woven. — OTIS T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

seek their food in Lake Huron during the winter; the others have gone away to two localities on Lake Superior, in order to live on the game which is very abundant there. Those who left their natal soil made an alliance with the Nadouaissieux, who were not very solicitous for the friendship of any one whomsoever; but, because they could obtain French merchandise only through the agency of the Sauteurs, they made a treaty of peace with the latter by which they were mutually bound to give their daughters in marriage on both sides. That was a strong bond for the maintenance of entire harmony.

The Nadouaissieux, who have their village on the upper Missisipi about the latitude of  $46^{\circ}$ ,<sup>195</sup> divided

<sup>195</sup> "The Siouan family is the most populous linguistic family north of Mexico, next to the Algonquian." The name is taken from Sioux, an appellation of the Dakota (the largest and best-known tribal group of the family) abbreviated from *Nadouessieux*, a French corruption of the name (*Nadowe-is-iw*) given them by the Chippewa; it signifies "snake" or adder, and metaphorically "enemy." "Before changes of domicile took place among them, resulting from the contact with whites, the principal body extended from the west bank of the Mississippi northward from the Arkansa nearly to the Rocky Mountains, except for certain sections held by the Pawnee, Arikara, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfeet, Comanche, and Kiowa. The Dakota proper also occupied territory on the east side of the river, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to Mille Lacs; and the Winnebago were about the lake of that name and the head of Green Bay. Northward Siouan tribes extended some distance into Canada, in the direction of Lake Winnipeg. A second group of Siouan tribes, embracing the Catawba, Sara or Cheraw, Saponi, Tutelo, and several others, occupied the central part of North Carolina and South Carolina and the piedmont region of Virginia; while a third, of which the Biloxi were the most prominent representatives, dwelt in Mississippi along the Gulf coast. . . The Dakota formerly inhabited the forest region of southern Minnesota, and do not seem to have gone out upon the plains until hard pressed by the Chippewa, who had been supplied with guns by the French. According to every fragment of evidence, traditional and otherwise, the so-called Chiwere tribes—Iowa, Oto, and Missouri—separated from the Winnebago or else moved westward to the Missouri from the same region. . . As to the more remote migrations that must have taken place in such a widely scattered stock, different theories are held. By some it is supposed that the various sections of the family have become dispersed from a district near that occupied by the Winnebago, or, on the basis of traditions recorded by Gallatin and Long, from some point on the



their territory and their hunting-grounds with the Sau-teurs. The abundance of beaver and deer made the latter gradually forget their native land. They spent

north side of the great lakes. By others a region close to the eastern Siouans [of Virginia and Carolina] is considered their primitive home, whence the Dhegiha [the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw] moved westward down the Ohio, while the Dakota, Winnebago, and cognate tribes kept a more northerly course near the great lakes. . . . The earliest notice of the main north-western group is probably that in the Jesuit *Relation* of 1640, where mention is made of the Winnebago, Dakota, and Assiniboin. As early as 1658 the Jesuit missionaries had learned of the existence of thirty Dakota villages in the region north from the Potawatomi mission at St. Michael, about the head of Green Bay, Wis. In 1680 Father Hennepin was taken prisoner by the same tribe. In 1804-1805 Lewis and Clark passed through the center of this region and encountered most of the Siouan tribes. Afterward expeditions into and through their country were numerous; traders settled among them in numbers, and were followed in course of time by permanent settlers, who pressed them into narrower and narrower areas until they were finally removed to Indian Territory or confined to reservations in the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Montana. Throughout all this period the Dakota proved themselves most consistently hostile to the intruders. . . . Later still the Ghost-dance religion spread among the northern Siouan tribes and culminated in the affair of Wounded Knee, Dec. 29, 1890."

"It is well-nigh impossible to make statements of the customs and habits of these people that will be true for the entire group. Nearly all the eastern tribes and most of the southern tribes belonging to the western group raised corn; but the Dakota (except some of the eastern bands) and the Crows depended almost entirely on the buffalo and other game animals, the buffalo entering very deeply into the economic and religious life of all the tribes of this section. In the east the habitations were bark and mat wigwams, but on the plains earth lodges and skin tipis were used. Formerly they had no domestic animals except dogs, which were utilized in transporting the tipis and all other family belongings, including children; but later their places were largely taken by horses, the introduction of which constituted a new epoch in the life of all Plains tribes, facilitating their migratory movements and the pursuit of the buffalo, and doubtless contributing largely to the ultimate extinction of that animal. Taking the reports of the United States and Canadian Indian offices as a basis and making a small allowance for bands or individuals not here enumerated, the total number of Indians belonging to the Siouan stock may be placed at about 40,800. The Tutelo, Biloxi, and probably the rest of the eastern Siouan tribes were organized internally into clans with maternal descent; the Dakota, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow consisted of many non-totemic bands or villages, and the rest of the tribes of totemic gentes. The Siouan family is divided as follows:" 1, Dakota-Assiniboin group; 2, Dhegiha group; 3, Chiwere group; 4, Winnebago; 5, Mandan; 6, Hidatsa group; 7, Biloxi group; 8, Eastern division (of which but a few scattered remnants survive). — J. R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

the winter in the woods to carry on their hunting; and in the spring they visit Lake Superior, on the shore of which they plant corn and squashes. There they spend the summer in great peace, without being disturbed by any neighbor, although the Nadouaissieux are at war with the people of the north. The Sauteurs are neutral; and the tribe that goes to war always takes care beforehand that there is no Sauteur [involved in it]. Their harvest being gathered, they return to their hunting-grounds.\*

Those who have remained at the Saut, their native country, leave their villages twice a year. In the month of June they disperse in all directions along Lake Huron, as also do the Missisakis and the Otter People.<sup>196</sup> This lake has rocky shores, and is full of

\* The reason for this frequentation of the Lake Superior shore by the Indians for the cultivation of corn and other crops may be found in the following description by G. W. Perry in *Transactions of Wisconsin State Horticultural Society for 1877*, pp. 178, 179: "The south shore of Lake Superior, in Wisconsin, rises rapidly from the level of the lake to the dividing ridge which separates the waters of the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, an average distance of less than twenty miles, the elevation ranging from five hundred feet in Douglas County to perhaps twelve hundred in the eastern portion of Ashland County. The soil on the northern slope is clay to the depth of sixty feet in Douglas County; sand overlying clay, in Bayfield County; and in Ashland, a loam of sand and clay. The clay generally carries so much lime as to be unfit for brick, but this defect is compensated by its greatly increased fertility. Every indigenous plant grows with amazing rapidity, in the long days of the short, fierce summers; while all grasses and cereals, including the hardier varieties of corn, yield abundantly, crops of superior quality." Keweenaw Point is some sixty miles long, and only five miles wide at its extremity; it varies in height from 700 to 1,000 feet, and is nearly surrounded by water. Here "the soil is sandy loam, and never freezes, being protected by six feet of snow, and is very fertile—the long days of summer (nineteen hours of daylight at the solstice) seeming to force the growth of every plant adapted to the locality. Here is the very paradise of the strawberry and the red raspberry, the service-berry, wild cherry, gooseberry, and huckleberries of four distinct varieties, all indigenous."

— ED.

<sup>196</sup> The Missisauga (Missisakis) were originally part of the Chippewa; they dwelt along the north shore of Lake Huron, and gradually drifted southward into the ancient Huron country between Georgian Bay and Lake Erie. About 1746-1750 they aided the Iroquois against the French, and most of them were

small islands abounding in blueberries. While there they gather sheets of bark from the trees for making their canoes and building their cabins. The water of the lake is very clear, and they can see the fish in it at a depth of twenty-five feet. While the children are gathering a store of blueberries, the men are busy in spearing sturgeon. When the grain [that they have planted] is nearly ripe, they return home. At the approach of winter they resort to the shores of the lake to kill beavers and moose, and do not return thence until the spring, in order to plant their Indian corn.

Such is the occupation of those peoples, who could live in great comfort if they were economical; but all the savages, especially all the Sauteurs, are so fond of eating that they take little heed for the morrow, and there are many of them who die of hunger. They never lay by anything whatever; if any food remains, it is because they have not been able to eat all of it in the day. They are even so proud, when some stranger comes among them, as to give him even the last morsel of food, in order to make it appear that they are not in poverty; but they do not hesitate to complain of hunger when they see Frenchmen whom they know to be well supplied with provisions. The Sauteurs were redoubtable to their enemies. They were the first to defeat the Irroquois, who to the number of a hundred warriors came to take possession of one of their villages. Hear-

driven out of their country by the latter, and settled at first near Detroit, and later in western New York, near the Senecas; but their alliance with the Iroquois lasted only till the outbreak of the French and Indian War a few years later. Those who still remain live north of Lake Erie, and in 1906 numbered 810. Part of these, living in the township of New Credit (which is entirely an Indian settlement) "are the most advanced of the Missisauga and represent one of the most successful attempts of any American Indian group to assimilate the culture of the whites. The Indian inhabitants have often won prizes against white competitors at the agricultural fairs." — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



ing of the enemy's march, fifty Sauteur fighting men went to meet them who, under the cover of a very dense fog, entirely defeated them, although their young men gave way [in the battle], and only thirty men remained; and they had for arms only arrows and tomahawks, while the Irroquois relied much on their firearms. The Sauteurs dealt quite heavy blows on the Nadouaissieux when those tribes were at war; but since the peace was made the bravest warriors are dead, and the rest have degenerated from the valor of their ancestors, and devote themselves solely to the destruction of wild animals.

The Hurons, Outaouäks, Cinagos, Kiskakons, and Nansouaketons usually make their abode at Michilimakinak,<sup>197</sup> and leave the greater part of their families there during the winter, when they are away hunting;

<sup>197</sup> Ottawa (meaning "traders"), "a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Ottawa, and Chippewa, and applied to the Ottawa" because "they were noted among their neighbors as intertribal traders and barterers." The Jesuit *Relation* of 1667 states that "the Ottawa (Outaouäcs) claimed that the great river (Ottawa?) belonged to them, and that no other nation might navigate it without their consent;" therefore all those who went down to trade with the French, although of different tribes, "bore the name Ottawa, under whose auspices the journey was undertaken. . . . According to tradition the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi tribes of the Algonquian family were formerly one people who came from some point north of the great lakes and separated at Mackinaw, Mich. The Ottawa were located by the earliest writers and also by tradition on Manitoulin Island, and also the north and south shores of Georgian Bay." They fled westward from the attacks of the Iroquois in the middle of the seventeenth century, and spent some twenty years in northern Wisconsin; in 1670-1671 they returned to Manitoulin Island; but by 1680 most of them had joined the Hurons at Mackinaw, whence they gradually spread down Lake Huron and along the east shore of Lake Michigan, and even into the region adjoining Chicago; and their villages were mingled with those of their old allies the Hurons, along the south shore of Lake Erie. The Ottawa were prominent in all the Indian wars up to 1812, and the noted Pontiac, leader in the war of 1763 around Detroit, was a chief of their tribe. Some of them removed to Canada after the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain; those along the west shore of Lake Michigan ceded their lands to the United States by the Chicago treaty of Sept. 26, 1833, and agreed to remove to lands granted them in north-eastern Kansas; those in northern Ohio went west of the Mississippi about 1832, and are now living in Oklahoma; but the great body of the Ottawa



for these they reserve the slenderest provision of grain, and sell the rest at a high price.

'Michilimakinak, which is three hundred and sixty leagues from Quebec, is the general meeting-place for all the French who go to trade with stranger tribes; it is the landing-place and refuge of all the savages who trade their peltries. The savages who dwell there do not need to go hunting in order to obtain all the comforts of life. When they choose to work, they make canoes of birch-bark, which they sell two at three hundred livres each. They get a shirt for two sheets of bark for cabins. The sale of their French strawberries and other fruits produces means for procuring their ornaments, which consist of vermilion and glass and porcelain beads. They make a profit on everything. They catch whitefish, her-  
ring, and trout four to five feet long. All the tribes land at this place, in order to trade their peltries there. In summer the young men go hunting, a distance of

"remained in the lower peninsula of Michigan, where they are still found scattered in a number of small villages and settlements. . . Charlevoix says the Ottawa were one of the rudest nations of Canada, cruel and barbarous to an unusual degree, and sometimes guilty of cannibalism. Bacqueville de la Potherie says they were formerly very rude, but by intercourse with the Hurons they have become more intelligent, imitating their valor, making themselves formidable to all the tribes with whom they were at enmity, and respected by those with whom they were in alliance. It was said of them in 1859: 'This people is still advancing in agricultural pursuits; they may be said to have entirely abandoned the chase; all of them live in good, comfortable log cabins; have fields inclosed with rail fences, and own domestic animals.' The Ottawa were expert canoeemen; as a means of defense they sometimes built forts, probably similar to those of the Hurons." In the latter part of the seventeenth century there were four divisions of this tribe: Kiskakon, Sinago, Nassawaketon (French, Gens de la Fourche, "people of the Fork"), and Sable; and another is sometimes named the Keinouche (or "Pickerel"), on the south shore of Lake Superior. "The population of the different Ottawa groups is not known with certainty. In 1906 the Chippewa and Ottawa on Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands, Canada, were 1,497, of whom about half were Ottawa; there were 197 under the Seneca school, Okla., and in Michigan 5,587 scattered Chippewa and Ottawa in 1900, of whom about two-thirds are Ottawa. The total therefore is about 4,700." — JAMES MOONEY and J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

thirty to forty leagues, and return laden with game; in autumn they depart for the winter hunt (which is the best [time of the year] for the skins and furs), and return in the spring laden with beavers, pelts, various kinds of fat, and the flesh of bears and deer. They sell all of which they have more than enough. They would be exceedingly well-to-do if they were economical; but most of them have the same traits as the Sauteurs.

The Hurons are more provident; they think of the future, and they support their families. As they are sober, it is seldom that they suffer from poverty. This tribe is very politic, treacherous in their actions, and proud in all their behavior; they have more intellect than all the other savages. The Hurons are liberal; they show delicacy in their conversation, and they speak with precision. The others try to imitate them. They are insinuating, and are seldom cheated by any person whatsoever in any of their undertakings. The Outaouaks, who are their neighbors, have imitated their customs and their rules of conduct; these people were at first very rude, but by intercourse with the Hurons they have become much more intelligent. They have imitated the valor of the latter, and have made themselves feared by all the tribes who are their enemies, and looked up to by those who are their allies.

Michilimakinak, according to the old men, is the place where Michapous sojourned longest. There is a mountain on the shore of the lake which has the shape of a hare; they believe that this was the place of his abode, and they call this mountain Michapous.<sup>198</sup> It is

<sup>198</sup> Manabozho, Messou, Michabo are among the synonyms of Nanabozho, "the demiurge of the cosmologic traditions of the Algonquian tribes." He is "apparently the impersonation of life, the active quickening power of life — of life manifested and embodied in the myriad forms of sentient and physical nature. He is therefore reputed to possess not only the power to live, but also the correlative power of renewing his own life and of quickening and there-

there, as they say, that he showed men how to make fishing-nets, and where he placed the most fish. There is an island, two leagues from the shore, which is very

fore creating life in others. He impersonates life in an unlimited series of diverse personalities which represent various phases and conditions of life, and the histories of the life and acts of these separate individualities form an entire circle of traditions and myths which, when compared one with another, are sometimes apparently contradictory and incongruous, relating, as these stories do, to the unrelated objects and subjects in nature. The conception named Nanabozho exercises the diverse functions of many persons, and he likewise suffers their pains and needs. He is this life struggling with the many forms of want, misfortune, and death that come to the bodies and beings of nature." The true character of this concept has been misconceived. Comparison is made between the Chippewa Nanabozho and the Iroquois Te'horon'hiawa'k'hon, showing that they are nearly identical. "In Potawatomi and cognate tradition Nanabozho is the eldest of male quadruplets, the beloved Chipiapoos being the second, Wabosso the third, and Chakekenapok the fourth. They were begotten by a great primal being, who had come to earth, and were born of a reputed daughter of the children of men. Nanabozho was the professed and active friend of the human race. The mild and gentle but unfortunate Chipiapoos became the warder of the dead, the ruler of the country of the manes, after this transformation. Wabosso ('Maker of White'), seeing the sunlight, went to the Northland, where, assuming the form of a white hare, he is regarded as possessing most potent manito or *orenda*. [Under art. "Orenda," this term is defined as "the Iroquois name of the active force, principle, or magic power which was assumed by the inchoate reasoning of primitive man to be inherent in every body and being of nature and in every personified attribute, property, or activity, belonging to each of these and conceived to be the active cause or force, or dynamic energy, involved in every operation or phenomenon of nature, in any manner affecting or controlling the welfare of man. This hypothetical principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action, limited in function and efficiency, and not at all omnipotent, local and not omnipresent, and ever embodied or immanent in some object, although it was believed that it could be transferred, attracted, acquired, increased, suppressed, or enthralled by the *orenda* of occult ritualistic formulas endowed with more potency. . . . So to obtain his needs man must gain the goodwill of each one of a thousand controlling minds by prayer, sacrifice, some acceptable offering, or propitiatory act, in order to influence the exercise in his behalf of the *orenda* or magic power which he believed was controlled by the particular being invoked. . . . In the cosmogonic legends, the sum of the operations of this hypothetical magic power constitutes the story of the phenomena of nature and the biography of the gods, in all the planes of human culture." — J. N. B. HEWITT.]

"Lastly, Chakekenapok, named from chert, flint, or firestone (fire?), was the impersonation originally of winter, and in coming into this world ruthlessly caused the death of his mother." He is destroyed by his brother Nanabozho, in anger for the death of their mother, and the fragments of his body become



VIEW OF MICHIGAN LAKE







lofty; they say that he left there some spirits, whom they call *Imakinagos*. As the inhabitants of this island are large and strong, this island has taken its name from those spirits; and it is called Michilimakinak, as who should say *Micha-Imakinak*—for in the Outaouak language *micha* means “great,” “stout,” and “much.” This place is a strait, which separates Lake Huron from Méchéygan, otherwise “Lake of the Illinois.” The currents which come and go in this strait form a flow and ebb, which is not regular, however. These currents flow so rapidly that when the wind blows all the nets which are stretched [in the stream] are torn out or destroyed; and in high winds ice-floes have been seen to move against the currents, as swiftly as if they had been swept along by a torrent.

When the savages of those regions make a feast of fish, they invoke those spirits, who they say live under this island—thanking them for their liberality, and entreating them to take care always of their families; and asking them to keep their nets from harm and to preserve their canoes from surging waves. Those who are present at this feast utter, all together, [a long drawn]

huge rocks, and masses of flint or chert. “Before the Indians knew the art of fire-making Nanabozho taught them the art of making hatchets, lances, and arrowpoints.” He dwelt with Chipiapoos in a land distant from that of men, and both were beneficent and powerful divinities. Through jealousy the evil manitos of the air, earth, and waters plotted to destroy the brothers, and succeeded in drowning Chipiapoos in one of the great lakes. Great was the wrath of Nanabozho, which was finally pacified by some of the good manitos, who initiated him into the mysteries of the grand medicine. Afterward the manitos brought back the lost Chipiapoos, but he was required to go to rule the country of the departed spirits; and Nanabozho again descended upon earth, and initiated all his human family into the medicine mysteries. He created animals for the food and raiment of men, and useful plants to cure sickness; and destroyed many ferocious monsters that would have endangered human life. Then he went to dwell on an ice-island in the far north, and placed at the four points of the compass beneficent beings who provide for man the light, heat, rain, and snow that are needed for his welfare.”—J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. “Nanabozho.”

*Ho!* which is a giving of thanks; they are very exact in offering this prayer. Our Frenchmen have made so much sport of this custom that they do not venture to practice it openly in the presence of our people; but it is always noticed that they mutter something between their teeth which resembles the prayer that they offer to these spirits of the island.

From this strait, which is five leagues long, one goes to the Lake of the Islinois, known under the name of Méchéygan, which is the route by which one reaches the Islinois, who are in possession of the most beautiful regions that can be seen [anywhere]. This lake is one hundred and eighty leagues long by thirty wide. Its shores are sandy; usually that on the north side is followed to reach the Bay of Puans.

This bay takes its name from the Ouénibegons,<sup>199</sup> [a

<sup>199</sup> A variant of Ouinipigou, the Algonkin name of a tribe now known as Winnebago. Le Jeune explains the meaning of this name and of the French translation of it, *Nation des Puans* (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. xviii, 231): "Some of the French call them the 'Nation of Stinkards' (*Puans*), because the Algonquin word *ouinipeg* signifies 'bad-smelling water,' and they apply this name to the water of the salt sea—so that these people are called Ouinipigou because they come from the shores of a sea about which we have no knowledge; and hence they ought to be called not the 'Nation of Stinkards,' but 'Nation of the Sea.'" The Winnebago are of Siouan stock (see note 195), their Siouan name being Ho-tcañ'-ga-ra, sometimes written Ochungra or Otchagra; in the westward prehistoric migration of that people this branch separated from the rest, on the east side of the Mississippi, and moved northward into Wisconsin, where they finally settled about Lake Winnebago. Cyrus Thomas says (*Handbook Amer. Indians*, 612): "Traditional and linguistic evidence proves that the Iowa sprang from the Winnebago stem, which appears to have been the mother stock of some other of the southwestern Siouan tribes." The Winnebago were apparently located in Wisconsin before the coming of the Chippewa and other Algonquian tribes thither, and for many years were on hostile terms with the latter. During the Fox wars they were for a considerable time allies of the Sauk and Foxes, but later were won over to the French side. A hundred of their warriors went, under Langlade's command, to fight against the British (1755-1759); but in the Revolutionary War they aided the British against the Americans (also in the War of 1812-1815), and received presents from them as late as 1820. Many of them were followers of Tecumseh and the Prophet, and their warriors fought at Tippecanoe. After peace was restored, dissensions

word] which means Puans [i.e., "stinkards"]. This name is explained less disagreeably in the language of the savages, for they call it the "salt-water bay" rather than the "bay of stinkards"—although among them those terms mean almost the same thing. They also give the same name to the sea, a fact which has occasioned

arose between the Wisconsin tribes over lands claimed by them; but by the treaty of Little Lake Butte des Morts, August 11, 1827, the Winnebago, Menominee, and the immigrant tribes from New York ceded their lands in the Fox River valley, and the Winnebago those in the lead region, to the United States. On Nov. 1, 1837, a treaty was concluded at Washington with the Winnebago by which they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to move upon a tract of land in northeastern Iowa; but the tribe refused to confirm this agreement, saying that their envoys had no right to make it. Part of the tribe were forcibly removed thither in 1840, and later were again removed to southern Minnesota. After the "Sioux massacre" (1862) they were again removed, simply to pacify the frightened white inhabitants of Minnesota, this time to South Dakota, near Pierre. But they did not like this place, and many of them gradually made their way to the Omaha reservation in northeastern Nebraska; there lands were granted them, or purchased from the Omaha, and they have since remained there, cultivating their lands and displaying much thrift and industry. Meanwhile many of the tribe (more than 1,000) had remained in Wisconsin, and in 1873 the government attempted to remove these people to Nebraska. Several hundred of them were sent thither, against their will; the removal was even more cruel than previous ones, many dying on the way or after reaching their destination. Many others made their way back to Wisconsin, and joined their tribesmen who were still there. Since then, they have been left undisturbed, and annual payments have been made to them by the government; and homesteads have been provided for them, chiefly in Jackson, Adams, Marathon, and Shawano Counties (in Central Wisconsin). They live mainly by picking berries, fishing, and hunting, and cultivate their lands to a limited extent. In 1887 the number of Winnebago enrolled in Wisconsin was about 1,500; in 1907 they numbered 1,180, and there were 2,613 in Nebraska. Much of the information in this note is obtained from the interesting and carefully prepared account given by Publius V. Lawson, "The Winnebago Tribe," in the *Wisconsin Archeologist*, July, 1907. Therein he presents also a series of "outline sketches of the chiefs" of the tribe, gathered from the *Wis. Hist. Colls.* and other authorities; also portraits of several, illustrations of Winnebago implements, etc., and a map showing location of their villages.

See also the account of this tribe in *Handbook of Amer. Indians*, by J. O. Dorsey and Paul Radin; it describes especially their social organization and religious ceremonies. Their population is given therein as 1,063 in Nebraska and 1,270 in Wisconsin (in 1910). Dr. Radin is engaged in a careful and detailed study of this tribe for the Bureau of American Ethnology. — ED.



very careful search to be made in order to ascertain if there are not in those quarters some salt-water springs, such as there are among the Iroquois; but thus far nothing of this sort has been found. It is believed that this name was given to the bay on account of the quantities of mud and mire which are encountered there [along its shores?], from which continually arise unwholesome vapors, which cause the most terrible and frequent thunders that can be heard [anywhere]. In this bay is observed a regular rise and fall of the waters, almost like that of the sea. I will gladly leave to the philosophers the inquiry whether these tides are occasioned by the winds, or by some other cause; and whether there are winds which are precursors of the moon, and attached to its retinue, which consequently agitate this lake and produce its flow and ebb whenever the moon rises above the horizon. What we can say with certainty is, that when the water is very calm, it is easily seen to rise and fall according to the course of the moon—although it is not denied that these movements might be caused by winds that are far away, and which, by pressure on the middle of the lake, cause the waters along its shores to rise and fall in the manner which is visible.<sup>200</sup>

This bay is forty leagues in depth; its width at the entrance is eight or ten leagues, gradually diminishing

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<sup>200</sup> The apparent tides in Lake Michigan and Green Bay were often noticed by early explorers and writers, especially by the Jesuit missionaries (after 1670). They were chiefly mentioned by Louis André, who observed them at Mackinac, "so regular, and again so irregular" (*Jesuit Relations*, lv, 163-165); in Green Bay, where he was convinced that they were caused by the moon (*id.*, lvi, 137-139); and in Fox River (*id.*, lvii, 301-305). Marquette also mentions them, in 1673 and 1675 (*id.*, lix, 99, 179). These observers, and some in the nineteenth century, thought that these apparent tides were more or less affected and perhaps caused by the currents or the varying depth of the waters, the configuration of the shores, the direction and force of winds, etc. For more recent explanation, see page 150, *footnote*. — ED.

until at the farthest end it is but two leagues wide. The mouth is closed by seven islands, which must be doubled in voyaging to the Islinois. The bay is on the north-western side of the lake, and extends toward the south-west; at the entrance is a small village, composed of people gathered from various nations—who, wishing to commend themselves to their neighbors, have cleared some lands there, and affect to entertain all who pass that way. Liberality is a characteristic greatly admired among the savages; and it is the proper thing for the chiefs to lavish all their possessions, if they desire to be esteemed. Accordingly, they have exerted themselves to receive strangers hospitably, who find among them whatever provisions are in season; and they like nothing better than to hear that others are praising their generosity.

The Pouteouatemis, Sakis, and Malhominis<sup>201</sup> dwell

<sup>201</sup> One of the variants of the name now given to this tribe, Menominee (meaning the "Wild-rice People"—see note 71). When first known to the whites these Indians were living on the Menominee River and Bay de Noque, on the southern side of the upper Michigan peninsula; and it was in the former locality that Nicolet visited them (about 1634), and where they remained until the middle of the nineteenth century. They have generally been a peaceful tribe, save that in earlier days they were often on hostile terms with their Algonquian neighbors. Although rather indolent, they are generally honest, and not so given to intemperance as the Indians of many other tribes. At various times from 1831 to 1856, the Menominee ceded lands occupied by them to the United States; and in exchange for these they received (May 12, 1854) a reservation on the Wolf River, in Shawano County, Wis. Their present population is about 1,600. — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Sauk (Sakis), a name derived from *Osawkiwag*, "people of the yellow earth" (Hewitt); they belong to the Central group of the Algonquian family. "There is no satisfactory reference to them till they are spoken of as dwelling south of the Straits of Mackinaw." Their claim, confirmed by other tribes (the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa), is that their home was once about Saginaw Bay, from which they were driven by those tribes. "In the early part of the 18th century they were found by the French west of Lake Michigan, dwelling south of the Foxes, who were then about Green Bay. . . . It is more probable that they came round Lake Michigan by way of the south. From earliest accounts it seems that the Sauk and Foxes were on very intimate

there; and there are four cabins, the remains of the Nadouaichs, a tribe which has been entirely destroyed

terms with each other. They were probably but two divisions of the same people who had been separated by some cause, probably by defeat at the hands of their enemies." They seem to have been greatly disliked by their savage neighbors, and later by the French. They were almost always at war with the adjoining tribes, most of whom were friendly to the French; and they refused to join the military operations of the latter; "there is no doubt that these early Fox wars had a good deal to do with weakening the cause of the French in the struggle with the English to gain control of the continent." In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Sauk and Foxes were "living together practically as one people, and occupying an extensive territory in what is now southern Wisconsin, northwestern Illinois, and northeastern Missouri."

A Sauk band wintering near St. Louis made an agreement (about 1804) "by which the Sauk and Foxes were to relinquish all claim to their territory in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri;" but those tribes were only angered by this transaction, and the Foxes were so incensed at the Sauk that they gradually withdrew from them and moved over the Mississippi into their hunting grounds in Iowa. "Other agreements were entered into with the three divisions of these people before the treaty of 1804 was finally carried out. Out of all this, in connection with the general unrest of the tribes of this region, rose the so-called Black Hawk War. It is customary to lay the cause of this conflict to the refusal of the Sauk to comply with the terms of agreement they had entered into with the government with reference particularly to the lands on Rock River in Illinois." Their hostilities with the whites were short and unequal; they were defeated, and sought refuge among the Foxes in Iowa. This result was partly due to tribal jealousies; the Winnebago delivered up Black Hawk to the government authorities and the Potawatomi deserted to the side of the whites. "This conflict practically broke the power of the Sauk and Foxes. They united again in Iowa, this time to avenge themselves against the Sioux, Omaha, and Menominee, whom they chastised in lively fashion, but not enough to satisfy their desires. So constantly harassed were the Sioux that they finally left Iowa altogether, and the Menominee withdrew northward where they continued to remain. In 1837 the Sauk and Foxes made the last of their various cessions of Iowa lands, and were given in exchange a tract across the Missouri in Kansas. Here they remained practically as one people for about twenty years." But they were separated by internal dissensions, due largely to the Sauk leader Keokuk, and lived in separate villages. About 1858 most of the Foxes removed to Iowa; they finally found a place on Iowa River, near Tama City, where they bought a small tract of land, to which additions have been made at various times, until now they hold over 3,000 acres in common. "They have nothing more to do with the Sauk politically. In 1867 the Sauk ceded their lands in Kansas and were given lands in exchange in Indian Territory. In 1889 they took up lands in severalty and sold the remainder to the government. The total number of the Sauk is fewer than 600, of whom about 100 are in Kansas and Nebraska, and about 500 in Oklahoma. The Foxes in Iowa number about 350." — WILLIAM JONES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



by the Iroquois. In former times, the Puans were the masters of this bay, and of a great extent of adjoining country. This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable, and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If any stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis were the only tribe who maintained relations with them, [and] they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny. Those tribes believed themselves the most powerful in the universe; they declared war on all nations whom they could discover, although they had only stone knives and hatchets. They did not desire to have commerce with the French. The Outaouaks, notwithstanding, sent to them envoys, whom they had the cruelty to eat. This crime incensed all the nations, who formed a union with the Outaouaks, on account of the protection accorded to them by the latter under the auspices of the French, from whom they received weapons and all sorts of merchandise. They made frequent expeditions against the Puans, who were giving them much trouble; and then followed civil wars among the Puans—who reproached one another for their ill-fortune, brought upon them by the perfidy of those who had slain the envoys, since the latter had brought them knives, bodkins, and many other useful articles, of which they had had no previous knowledge. When they found that they were being vigorously attacked, they were compelled to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men; but maladies wrought among them more devastation than even the war did, and the exhalations from the rotting corpses caused great mortality. They could not bury the dead, and were soon reduced to fifteen hundred men. Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of five



hundred warriors against the Outagamis, who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; <sup>202</sup> but all those men perished,

<sup>202</sup> This is one of various appellations of the tribe now known as Foxes (a name which, as often happened, was erroneously transferred from a clan to the tribe). Their own name for themselves is Mēsh-kwa 'kihūg', meaning (like the Hebrew name Adam) "red earth," referring to their legend of creation. They are mentioned by various writers as Musquakies, Outagamis, and Renards (the French appellation), each name having many variant or corrupted forms. They were known to the Chippewa and other Algonquian tribes as Utūgamig, "people of the other shore." When first known to the whites the Foxes lived about Lake Winnebago, or along the Fox and Wolf Rivers. They were closely related to the Sauk (see preceding note), and probably both were only branches from one original stem; so it is probable that their early migrations were closely correspondent. They were a restless, fierce tribe, and were almost always at war with some of their Algonquian neighbors, or with the French; they carried on war frequently with the Illinois tribes, and finally (aided by the Sauk) drove them from their own country, and took possession of it. In 1746 the Foxes were living at the Little Lake Butte des Morts, just below the present Neenah and Menasha, Wis.; and they exacted tribute from every trader who passed them, plundering every one who refused to pay. Incensed at this treatment, the French, aided by the Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Menominee, attacked the Foxes, and after two sharp battles drove them down the Wisconsin River, where they settled, about twenty miles above Prairie du Chien. About 1780 the Foxes and the Sioux attacked the Chippewa at St. Croix Falls, where the Foxes were almost annihilated. The remnant of them united with the Sauk, and they practically make one tribe, although each retains its identity. Their mode of life, customs, etc., are those of the tribes of the eastern woodlands, somewhat modified by those of the plains. "There is probably no other Algonquian community within the limits of the United States, unless it be that of the Mexican band of Kickapoo in Oklahoma, where a more primitive state of society exists." Most of the estimates before 1850 make their numbers 1,500 to 2,000 souls; since that time they have been enumerated together with the Sauk. "The 345 'Sauk and Fox of Mississippi' still (1905) in Iowa are said to be all Foxes." There are also 82 Sauk and Foxes among the Kickapoos of Kansas. — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The Sauk and Foxes were concerned in the so-called "Black Hawk War" of 1832, occasioned by what they considered a fraudulent treaty and cession of their lands and villages in Iowa to white men; they were defeated, and transported to Kansas. Driven by homesickness, the Foxes made their way back to Iowa, and settled on the banks of the Iowa, near the present Tama City; and gradually they have acquired there some 3,000 acres of land, on which they live in considerable comfort and prosperity. For a minute and admirable study of this people, their mode of life, their customs and beliefs, see the valuable monograph written by Miss Mary Alicia Owen (who for many years has been personally and intimately acquainted with this tribe), "The Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians" (London, 1904), which forms vol. li of the publi-

while making that journey, by a tempest which arose. Their enemies were moved by this disaster, and said that the gods ought to be satisfied with so many punishments; so they ceased making war on those who remained. All these scourges, which ought to have gone home to their consciences, seemed only to increase their iniquities. All savages who have not yet embraced the Christian faith have the notion that the souls of the departed, especially of those who have been slain, can not rest in peace unless their relatives avenge their death; it is necessary, therefore, to sacrifice victims to their shades, if their friends wish to solace them. This belief, which animated those barbarians, inspired in them an ardent desire to satisfy the manes of their ancestors, or to perish utterly; but, seeing that this was impossible for them, they were obliged to check their resentment—they felt too humiliated in the sight of all the nations to dare undertake any such enterprise. The despair, the cruel memory of their losses, and the destitution to which they were reduced, made it still more difficult for them to find favorable opportunities for providing their subsistence; the frequent raids of their enemies had even dispersed the game; and famine was the last scourge that attacked them.

Then the Islinois,<sup>208</sup> touched with compassion for cations of the British Folk-lore Society. To that society Miss Owen presented a large and valuable collection made by her, of beadwork and ceremonial implements obtained from the Foxes; the book is illustrated with plates (some being colored facsimiles) showing the designs in their beadwork.—ED.

<sup>208</sup> Illinois (the French form of their own appellation, *Iliniwew*, meaning "people who are men") was the name of a "confederacy of Algonquian tribes, formerly occupying southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and sections of Iowa and Missouri, comprising the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, and Tamaroa." From 1660 to 1670, Jesuit missionaries found some of them living at the Mascoutin village on the upper Fox River, and even visiting the Indians at Lake Superior for purposes of trade. Some of their villages were situated in Iowa on the shore of the Mississippi; but the greater

these unfortunates, sent five hundred men, among whom were fifty of the most prominent persons in their nation, to carry them a liberal supply of provisions. Those man-eaters received them at first with the utmost gratitude; but at the same time they meditated taking revenge for their loss by the sacrifice which they meant to make of the Islinois to the shades of their dead. Accordingly, they erected a great cabin in which to lodge these new guests. As it is a custom among the savages to provide dances and public games on splendid occasions, the Puans made ready for a dance expressly for their guests. While the Islinois were engaged in dancing, the Puans cut their bow-strings, and immediately flung themselves upon the Islinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh; the enclosure of

part of the tribes belonging to the confederacy lived in northern Illinois, chiefly on the Illinois River. In the village of Kaskaskia (then on the Illinois River, in the present LaSalle County), Marquette found (1673) 74 cabins, all of one tribe only; various missionaries who visited the place between 1680 and 1692 estimated the population at from 300 to 400 cabins, or 6,500 to 9,000 souls, belonging to eight tribes. "The Illinois were almost constantly harassed by the Sioux, Foxes, and other northern tribes; it was probably on this account that they concentrated, about the time of La Salle's visit, on the Illinois River. About the same time the Iroquois waged war against them, which lasted several years, and greatly reduced their numbers, while liquor obtained from the French tended still further to weaken them. About the year 1750 they were still estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000 souls. The murder of the celebrated chief Pontiac by a Kaskaskia Indian, about 1769, provoked the vengeance of the Lake tribes on the Illinois; and a war of extermination was begun which, in a few years, reduced them to a mere handful, who took refuge with the French settlers at Kaskaskia, while the Sauk, Foxes, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi took possession of their country. In 1778 the Kaskaskia still numbered 210, living in a village three miles north of Kaskaskia, while the Peoria and Michigamea together numbered 170 on the Mississippi, a few miles farther up. Both bands had become demoralized and generally worthless through the use of liquor. In 1800 there were only 150 left. In 1833 the survivors, represented by the Kaskaskia and Peoria, sold their lands in Illinois and removed west of the Mississippi, and are now in the northeast corner of Oklahoma, consolidated with the Wea and Piankashaw." In 1885 but 149 remained of all these tribes, and even these were much mixed with white blood. In 1905 their number was 195. So far as can be judged from the early writers, the Illinois seem to have been timid, fickle, and treacherous. — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.





WINNEBAGO WIGWAMS





that cabin, and the melancholy remains of the victims, may still be seen. The Puans rightly judged that all the nations would league themselves together to take vengeance for the massacre of the Islinois and for their own cruel ingratitude toward that people, and resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying. But, before they took that final step, each reproached himself for that crime; some dreamed at night that their families were being carried away, and others thought that they saw on every side frightful spectres, who threatened them. They took refuge in an island, which has since been swept away by the ice-floes.

The Islinois, finding that their people did not return, sent out some men to bring news of them. They arrived at the Puan village, which they found abandoned; but from it they descried the smoke from the one which had just been established in that island. The Islinois saw only the ruins of the cabins, and the bones of many human beings which, they concluded, were those of their own people. When they carried back to their country this sad news, only weeping and lamentation were heard; they sent word of their loss to their allies, who offered to assist them. The Puans, who knew that the Islinois did not use canoes, were sure that in that island they were safe from all affronts. The Islinois were every day consoled by those who had learned of their disaster; and from every side they received presents which wiped away their tears. They consulted together whether they should immediately attempt hostilities against their enemies. Their wisest men said that they ought, in accordance with the custom of their ancestors, to spend one year, or even more, in mourning, to move the Great Spirit; that he had chastised them because they had not offered enough sacrifices to him; that

he would, notwithstanding, have pity on them if they were not impatient; and that he would chastise the Puans for so black a deed. They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all the nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the island over the ice, they found only the cabins, in which there still remained some fire; the Puans had gone to their hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in any emergency, be surprised by the Islinois. The army of the latter followed these hunters, and on the sixth day descried their village, to which they laid seige. So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows.

The Islinois returned to their country, well avenged; they had, however, the generosity to spare the lives of many women and children, part of whom remained among them, while others had liberty to go whither they pleased. A few years ago, they [the Puans] numbered possibly one hundred and fifty warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very irascible; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding nations, they cannot be humble; on the contrary, they are the first to affront those who are with them. Their women are extremely

laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. These people are very fond of the French, who always protect them; without that support, they would have been long ago utterly destroyed, for none of their neighbors could endure them on account of their behavior and their insupportable haughtiness. Some years ago, the Outagamis, Maskoutechs, Kikabous,<sup>204</sup> Sakis, and Miamis were almost defeated by them; they have [now] become somewhat more tractable. Some of the Pouteouatemis, Sakis, and Outagamis have taken wives among them, and have given them their own daughters.

The Pouteouatemis are their neighbors; the behavior of these people is very affable and cordial, and they make great efforts to gain the good opinion of persons

<sup>204</sup> The Kickapoo are "a tribe of the central Algonquian group, forming a division with the Sauk and Foxes, with whom they have close ethnic and linguistic connection. The relation of this division is rather with the Miami, Shawnee, Menominee, and Peoria than with the Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa." Apparently Allouez was the first white man to encounter them (1667-1670); they were then near the Fox-Wisconsin portage. At some time before 1700 they had dwelt on the Kickapoo River of Wisconsin. In the early part of the eighteenth century at least part of the tribe were living somewhere about Milwaukee River. After the destruction of the Illinois confederacy (about 1765), the Kickapoo appropriated part of the conquered territory — at first settling at Peoria, Ill., then gradually moving on to the Sangamon and Wabash Rivers. In the War of 1812 they fought with Tecumseh against the Americans, and many followed Black Hawk in the contest of 1832. In 1809 and 1819 they ceded to the United States their lands in Illinois and Indiana, and afterward removed to Missouri and thence to Kansas. A large number of the Kickapoo went, in 1852 and 1863, to Texas and thence to Mexico, which caused them to be known as "Mexican Kickapoo." "In 1873 a number were brought back and settled in Indian Territory. Others have come in since, but the remainder, constituting at present nearly half the tribe, are now settled on a reservation, granted them by the Mexican government, in the Santa Rosa mountains of eastern Chihuahua." In 1759 the population of the Kickapoo was estimated at 3,000; since that time they have steadily diminished. "Those in the United States in 1905 were officially reported at 432, of whom 247 were in Oklahoma and 185 in Kansas. There are supposed to be about 400 or more in Mexico. Within the last two years there has been considerable effort by private parties to procure the removal of the Oklahoma band also to Mexico."

— JAMES MOONEY and WILLIAM JONES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



who come among them. They are very intelligent; they have an inclination for raillery; their physical appearance is good; and they are great talkers. When they set their minds on anything, it is not easy to turn them from it. The old men are prudent, sensible, and deliberate; it is seldom that they undertake any unseasonable enterprise. As they receive strangers very kindly, they are delighted when reciprocal attentions are paid to them. They have so good an opinion of themselves that they regard other nations as inferior to them. They have made themselves arbiters for the tribes about the bay, and for all their neighbors; and they strive to preserve for themselves that reputation in every direction.<sup>205</sup> Their ambition to please everybody has of

<sup>205</sup> Potawatomi (originally meaning "people of the place of the fire;" also called "Fire Nation"), an Algonquian tribe, "first encountered on the islands of Green Bay, Wis., and at its head. According to the traditions of all three tribes the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa were originally one people, and seem to have reached the region about the upper end of Lake Huron together. Here they separated, but the three have always formed a loose confederacy, or have acted in concert, and in 1846 those removed beyond the Mississippi, asserting their former connection, asked to be again united. Warren conjectured that it had been less than three centuries since the Chippewa became disconnected as a distinct tribe from the Ottawa and Potawatomi." It is apparently the Potawatomi of whom Champlain heard (in 1616), named by the Hurons Asistagueronons, and dwelling on the western shore of Lake Huron. In the Jesuit *Relation* for 1640 the Potawatomi are spoken of as living in the vicinity of the Winnebago, doubtless driven west by the Iroquois; but in the following year they were at Sault Ste. Marie, having taken refuge with the Saulteurs (Chippewa) there from the incursions of the Sioux. In 1667 many of them were at Chequamegon Bay; and in 1670 they had again resorted to the islands in Green Bay. Moving still further southward, by 1700 they had become established on Milwaukee River, at Chicago, and on St. Joseph River; and by 1800 they "were in possession of the country around the head of Lake Michigan, from Milwaukee River to Grand River in Michigan, extending southwest over a large part of northern Illinois, east across Michigan to Lake Erie, and south in Indiana to the Wabash, and as far down as Pine Creek. Within this territory they had about fifty villages." Those who lived in Illinois and Wisconsin were known as the Prairie band, or Maskotens — which appellation caused some writers to confuse them with the other Algonquian tribe "People of the Prairie," in latter times known as Mascoutens. The Potawatomi were active allies of the French until the peace of 1763, and afterward of the British until 1815. Gradually they removed westward, as the American

course caused among them jealousy and divorce; for their families are scattered to the right and to the left along the Méchéygan [i.e., Lake Michigan]. With a view of gaining for themselves special esteem, they make presents of all their possessions, stripping themselves of even necessary articles, in their eager desire to be accounted liberal. Most of the merchandise for which the Outaouas trade with the French is carried among these people.

The Sakis have always been neighbors of the Pouteouatemis, and have even built a village with them. They separated from each other some years ago, as neither tribe could endure to be subordinate; this feeling is general among all the savages, and each man is master of his own actions, no one daring to contradict him. These peoples are not intelligent, and are of brutal nature and unruly disposition; but they have a good physique, and are quite good-looking for savages; they are thieves and liars, great chatterers, good hunters, and very poor canoemen.

The Malhominis are no more than forty in number; settlements increased — some, however, going to Canada — until, in 1846, all those west of the Mississippi were united on a reservation in southern Kansas. Many of them — having in 1861 taken lands in severalty — removed in 1868 to Indian Territory. "A considerable body, part of the Prairie band, is still in Wisconsin; and another band, the Potawatomi of Huron, is in lower Michigan." (This last band took lands in severalty and became citizens, by 1886.) The Potawatomi are described by early writers as being very friendly to the French, well disposed toward the Christian religion, and more humane and civilized than other tribes; and their women were more reserved and modest than those of most other tribes. Polygamy was common among them. Those on Milwaukee River (who were then considerably intermixed with Sauk and Winnebago) were in 1825 described as being lazy, and much inclined to gambling and debauchery. "The tribe probably never much exceeded 3,000 souls, and most estimates place them far below that number." In 1906 those in the United States were reported to number 2,443, mostly of the "Citizen" group in Oklahoma. Those in Canada are all in Ontario, and number about 220, most of them on Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

they raise a little Indian corn, but live upon game and sturgeons; they are skillful navigators. If the Sauteurs are adroit in catching the whitefish at the Sault, the Malhominis are no less so in spearing the sturgeon in their river. For this purpose they use only small canoes, very light, in which they stand upright, and in the middle of the current spear the sturgeon with an iron-pointed pole; only canoes are to be seen, morning and evening. They are good-natured people, not very keen of intellect; selfish to the last degree, and consequently characterized by a sordid avarice; but they are brave warriors.

All these tribes at the bay are most favorably situated; the country is a beautiful one, and they have fertile fields planted with Indian corn. Game is abundant at all seasons, and in winter they hunt bears and beavers; they hunt deer at all times, and they even fish for wild-fowl. I will explain my remark; in autumn there is a prodigious abundance of ducks, both black and white, of excellent flavor, and the savages stretch nets in certain places where these fowl alight to feed upon the wild rice. Then advancing silently in their canoes, they draw them up alongside of the nets, in which the birds have been caught. They also capture pigeons in their nets, in the summer. They make in the woods wide paths, in which they spread large nets, in the shape of a bag, wide open, and attached at each side to the trees; and they make a little hut of branches, in which they hide. When the pigeons in their flight get within this open space, the savages pull a small cord which is drawn through the edge of the net, and thus capture sometimes five or six hundred birds in one morning, especially in windy weather.<sup>206</sup> All the year round they

<sup>206</sup> The Indian practice of capturing wild fowl in nets is also described by Dablon in the *Relation of 1671-1672* (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lvi, 121). The



fish for sturgeon, and for herring in the autumn; and in winter they have fruits. Although their rivers are deep, they close the stream with a sort of hurdle, leaving open places through which the fish can pass; in these spaces they set a sort of net which they can cast or draw in when they please; and several small cords are attached, which, although they seem to close the opening, nevertheless afford passage to the fish. The savages are apprised of the entrance of the fish into the net by a little bell which they fasten on the upper part of it;<sup>207</sup> when this sounds, they pull in their fish. This fishery suffices to maintain large villages; they also gather wild rice

passenger pigeon (*Ectopistes migratoria*) was even in recent times a notable feature in the wild life of the northwest. Many persons now living can remember seeing flocks of these birds so numerous and crowded as to obscure the sunlight, and requiring several hours to pass a given point. But they were recklessly slaughtered by the early settlers, as well as by the less intelligent Indians; and afterward many pot-hunters made it a regular business to trap and shoot the pigeons for the city markets. In consequence of these enemies the species is now exterminated — a painful illustration of the selfishness and greed of men who ought to know better, and from whom better things might have been expected; for the early settlers of the states carved from the northwest territory were mainly American people of exceptional intelligence and character. In a private letter dated March 13, 1909, C. Hart Merriam, then chief of the U.S. Biological Survey, says: "We fear that the passenger pigeon is extinct, although I am not sure that this is the case, and still have a lingering hope that a few of the birds still exist." H. W. Henshaw, present chief of the same bureau, says (in a letter of Dec. 22, 1910): "I am afraid that it is only too true that the last surviving individual of our passenger pigeon is the one in the Cincinnati Zoölogical Garden. The efforts to preserve this beautiful species were begun much too late." — Ed.

<sup>207</sup> "Metal bells were in common use in middle America in pre-Columbian times, but they are rarely found north of the Rio Grande, either in possession of the tribes or on ancient sites; but bells were certainly known to the Pueblos and possibly to the mound-builders before the arrival of the whites. The rattle made of shells of various kinds or modeled in clay passed naturally into the bell as soon as metal or other particularly resonant materials were available for their manufacture." Of copper bells "many specimens must have reached Florida from Mexico and Central America in early Columbian times; and it is well known that bells of copper or bronze were employed in trade with the tribes by the English colonists, numerous examples of which have been obtained from mounds and burial places." — W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



and acorns; accordingly, the peoples of the bay can live in the utmost comfort.

The Mantouechs,<sup>208</sup> who formerly composed a large village, resided about forty leagues inland, north of the bay. They were the most warlike people in all North America, and when they went out on the war-path the other tribes trembled. It was never possible to conquer them; however, all the [other] tribes, jealous of their power, leagued against them, and through the treachery of the Malhominis (who called themselves their friends) they were massacred—taken by surprise, in the same way as the Islinois were by the Puans—and only the women and children remained, who were made slaves.

## Chapter VIII

[Summary of pages 81-85: The Iroquois had always, since the first coming of the French to Canada, been hostile to the Algonkin tribes, and were continually making raids on them; the latter were from the outset friendly to the French, who “needed those people, in order to maintain themselves at Quebec,” and both accordingly rendered aid to each other against the Iroquois, the common enemy. But in 1665 arrived a new viceroy of the French possessions in America, Marquis de Tracy; he brought not only new colonists for Canada, but a regiment of French regular troops, with whom he was able to send a powerful punitive expedition against the Iroquois in their own country—inflicting so severe chastisement on them that he compelled them to sue for

<sup>208</sup> The Mantouek were “a tribe, possibly the Mdewakanton Sioux or its Matantonwan division, known to the French missionaries; placed by the Jesuit *Relation* of 1640 north of a small lake west of Sault Ste. Marie, and by the *Relation* of 1658 with the Nadouechiouek [i.e., Dakota], the two having forty towns ten days’ travel northwest of the mission St. Michael of the Potawatomi.” — *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

peace. Two years later (after the viceroy's return to France) two of his relatives and another French officer were wantonly slain by the treacherous Iroquois while out hunting. The governor, M. de Courcelles, at once threatened them with war unless they delivered up the murderer; they were alarmed at this, and sent forty of their warriors with Agariata, who had slain the Frenchmen. This man, notwithstanding the entreaties and lamentations of his followers, was hanged in their presence—a punishment which they had never before seen; and the Iroquois were so terrified that they maintained peace with the French until 1683, when war again broke out.]

All the Outaouak peoples were in alarm. While we were waging war with the Iroquois, those tribes who dwelt about Lake Huron fled for refuge to Chagoüamikon, which is on Lake Superior; they came down to Montreal only when they wished to sell their peltries, and then, trembling [with dread of the enemy]. The trade was not yet opened with the Outaouaks. The name of the French people gradually became known in that region, and some of the French made their way into those places where they believed that they could make some profit; it was a Peru for them. The savages could not understand why these men came so far to search for their worn-out beaver robes; meanwhile they admired all the wares brought to them by the French, which they regarded as extremely precious. The knives, the hatchets, the iron weapons above all, could not be sufficiently praised; and the guns so astonished them that they declared that there was a spirit within the gun, which caused the loud noise made when it was fired. It is a fact that an Esquimau from Cape Digue, at 60° latitude, in the strait of Hudson Bay, displayed so

much surprise to me when he saw a *gode*<sup>209</sup> suddenly fall, covered with blood, as the result of a gunshot, that he stood motionless with the wonder caused by a thing which seemed to him so extraordinary. The Frenchmen who traded with the Canadian tribes were often amused at seeing those people in raptures of this sort. The savages often took them [the Frenchmen] for spirits and gods; if any tribe had some Frenchmen among them, that was sufficient to make them feel safe from any injuries by their neighbors; and the French became mediators in all their quarrels. The detailed conversations which I have had with many voyageurs in those countries have supplied me with material for my accounts of those peoples; all that they have told me about them has so uniformly agreed that I have felt obliged to give the public some idea of that vast region.

Sieur Perot has best known those peoples; the governors-general of Canada have always employed him in all their schemes; and his acquaintance with the savage tongues, his experience, and his mental ability have enabled him to make discoveries which gave opportunity to Monsieur de la Salle to push forward all those explorations in which he achieved so great success. It was through his agency that the Mississippi became known. He rendered very important services to the

<sup>209</sup> *Gode* is defined by Bescherelle as the name of a small sea-bird on the coast of Brittany; [the name was probably applied by the French explorers or fishermen to some bird in Canada resembling it]. Mr. C. E. Dionne, the curator of the museum of Laval University at Quebec, says in his *Oiseaux du Canada* that the name *gode* now belongs to the common murre or razor-billed auk (*Alca torda*), and adds: "This bird, which is popularly called *gode*, frequents the shores and islands of the north Atlantic, where it very commonly makes its appearance. On the American continent it is occasionally seen in winter as far south as North Carolina. It is common in the St. Lawrence River and Gulf." — CRAWFORD LINDSAY, official translator for the legislature of Quebec.

Cape "Digue" is Cape Diggs, at the northeast corner of Hudson Bay. — Ed.



Colony, made known the glory of the king [of France] among those peoples, and induced them to form an alliance with us. On one occasion, among the Pouteouatemis, he was regarded as a god. Curiosity induced him to form the acquaintance of this nation, who dwelt at the foot of the Bay of Puans. They had heard of the French, and their desire to become acquainted with them in order to secure the trade with them had induced these savages to go down to Montreal, under the guidance of a wandering Outaouak who was glad to conduct them thither. The French had been described to them as covered with hair (the savages have no beards), and they believed that we were of a different species from other men. They were astonished to see that we were made like themselves, and regarded it as a present that the sky and the spirits had made them in permitting one of the celestial beings to enter their land. The old men solemnly smoked a calumet and came into his presence, offering it to him as homage that they rendered to him. After he had smoked the calumet, it was presented by the chief to his tribesmen, who all offered it in turn to one another, blowing from their mouths the tobacco-smoke over him as if it were incense. They said to him: "Thou art one of the chief spirits, since thou usest iron; it is for thee to rule and protect all men. Praised be the Sun, who has instructed thee and sent thee to our country." They adored him as a god; they took his knives and hatchets and incensed them with the tobacco-smoke from their mouths; and they presented to him so many kinds of food that he could not taste them all. "It is a spirit," they said; "these provisions that he has not tasted are not worthy of his lips." When he left the room, they insisted on carrying him upon their shoulders; the way over which he passed was made clear; they did [not]



dare look in his face; and the women and children watched him from a distance. "He is a spirit," they said; "let us show our affection for him, and he will have pity on us." The savage who had introduced him to this tribe was, in acknowledgment thereof, treated as a captain. Perot was careful not to receive all these acts of adoration, although, it is true, he accepted these honors so far as the interests of religion were not concerned. He told them that he was not what they thought, but only a Frenchman; that the real Spirit who had made all had given to the French the knowledge of iron, and the ability to handle it as if it were paste. He said that that Spirit, desiring to show his pity for his creatures, had permitted the French nation to settle in their country in order to remove them from the blindness in which they had dwelt, as they had not known the true God, the author of nature, whom the French adored; that, when they had established a friendship with the French, they would receive from the latter all possible assistance; and that he had come to facilitate acquaintance between them by the discoveries of the various tribes which he was making. And, as the beaver was valued by his people, he wished to ascertain whether there were not a good opportunity for them to carry on trade therein.

At that time there was war between that tribe and their neighbors, the Malhominis. The latter, while hunting with the Outagamis, had by mistake slain a Pouteouatemi, who was on his way to the Outagamis. The Pouteouatemis, incensed at this affront, deliberately tomahawked a Malhomini who was among the Puans. In the Pouteouatemi village there were only women and old men, as the young men had gone for the first time to trade at Montreal; and there was reason to fear that

the Malhominis would profit by that mischance. Perot, who was desirous of making their acquaintance, offered to mediate a peace between them. When he had arrived within half a league of the [Malhomini] village, he sent a man to tell them that a Frenchman was coming to visit them; this news caused universal joy. All the youths came at once to meet him, bearing their weapons and their warlike adornments, all marching in file, with frightful contortions and yells; this was the most honorable reception that they thought it possible to give him. He was not uneasy, but fired a gun in the air as far away as he could see them; this noise, which seemed to them so extraordinary, caused them to halt suddenly, gazing at the sun in most ludicrous attitudes. After he had made them understand that he had come not to disturb their repose, but to form an alliance with them, they approached him with many gesticulations. The calumet was presented to him; and, when he was ready to proceed to the village, one of the savages stooped down in order to carry Perot upon his shoulders; but his interpreter assured them that he had refused such honors among many tribes. He was escorted with assiduous attentions; they vied with one another in clearing the path, and in breaking off the branches of trees which hung in the way. The women and children, who had heard "the spirit" (for thus they call a gun), had fled into the woods. The men assembled in the cabin of the leading war chief, where they danced the calumet to the sound of the drum. He had them all assemble next day, and made them a speech in nearly these words: "Men, the true Spirit who has created all men desires to put an end to your miseries. Your ancestors would not listen to him; they always followed natural impulses alone, without remembering that they had

their being from him. He created them to live in peace with their fellow-men. He does not like war or disunion; he desires that men, to whom he has given reason, should remember that they all are brothers, and that they have only one God, who has formed them to do only his will. He has given them dominion over the animals, and at the same time has forbidden them to make any attacks on one another. He has given the Frenchmen iron, in order to distribute it among those peoples who have not the use of it, if they are willing to live as men, and not as beasts. He is angry that you are at war with the Pouteouatemis; even though it seemed that they had a right to avenge themselves on your young man who was among the Puans, God is nevertheless offended at them, for he forbids vengeance, and commands union and peace. The sun has never been very bright on your horizon; you have always been wrapped in the shadows of a dark and miserable existence, never having enjoyed the true light of day, as the French do. Here is a gun, which I place before you to defend you from those who may attack you; if you have enemies, it will cause them terror. Here is a porcelain collar, by which I bind you to my body; what will you have to fear, if you unite yourselves to us, who make guns and hatchets, and who knead iron as you do pitch? I have united myself with the Pouteouatemis, on whom you are planning to make war. I have come to embrace all the men whom Onontio ["Monsieur de Courcel"—La Potherie], the chief of all the French who have settled in this country, has told me to join together, in order to take them under his protection. Would you refuse his support, and kill one another when he desires to establish peace between you? The Pouteouatemis are expecting many articles suited to war



from the hands of Onontio. You have been so evenly matched [with them; but now] would you abandon your families to the mercy of their [fire]arms, and be at war with them against the will of the French? I come to make the discovery of [new] tribes, only to return here with my brothers, who will come with me among those people who are willing to unite themselves to us. Could you hunt in peace if we give [weapons of] iron to those who furnish us beaver-skins? You are angry against the Pouteouatemis, whom you regard as your enemies, but they are in much greater number than you; and I am much afraid that the prairie people will at the same time form a league against you."

The Father of the Malhomini who had been murdered by the Pouteouatemis arose and took the collar that Perot had given him; he lighted his calumet, and presented it to him, and then gave it to the chief and all who were present, who smoked it in turn; then he began to sing, holding the calumet in one hand, and the collar in the other. He went out of the cabin while he sang, and, presenting the calumet and collar toward the sun, he walked sometimes backwards, sometimes forward; he made the circuit of his own cabin, went past a great number of those in the village, and finally returned to that of the chief. There he declared that he attached himself wholly to the French; that he believed in the living Spirit, who had, in behalf of all the spirits, domination over all other men, who were inferior to him; that all his tribe had the same sentiments; and that they asked only the protection of the French, from whom they hoped for life and for obtaining all that is necessary to man.

The Pouteouatemis were very impatient to learn the fate of their people who had gone trading to Montreal;



they feared that the French might treat them badly, or that they would be defeated by the Iroquois. Accordingly, they had recourse to Perot's guide, who was a master juggler. That false prophet built himself a little tower of poles, and therein chanted several songs, through which he invoked all the infernal spirits to tell him where the Pouteouatemis were. The reply was that they were at the Oulamanistik River,<sup>210</sup> which is three days' journey from their village; that they had been well received by the French; and that they were bringing a large supply of merchandise. This oracle would have been believed if Perot, who knew that his interpreter had played the juggler, had not declared that he was a liar. The latter came to Perot, and heaped upon him loud reproaches, complaining that he did not at all realize what hardships his interpreter had encountered in this voyage, and that it was Perot's fault that he had not been recompensed for his prediction. The old men begged that Perot himself would relieve them from their anxiety. After telling them that such knowledge belonged only to God, he made a calculation, from the day of their departure, of the stay that they would probably make at Montreal, and of the time when their return might be expected; and determined very nearly the time when they could reach home. Fifteen days later, a man fishing for sturgeon came to the village in great fright, to warn them that he had seen a canoe, from which several gunshots had proceeded; this was enough to make them believe that the Iroquois were coming against them. Disorder prevailed throughout the village; they were ready to flee into the woods or to shut themselves into their fort. There was no probability that these were Iroquois, who usually make their

<sup>210</sup> The Manistique River, which, with its tributaries, waters Schoolcraft County, Michigan. — Ed.

attacks by stealth; Perot conjectured that they were probably their own men, who were thus displaying their joy as they came near the village. In fact, a young man who had been sent out as a scout came back, in breathless haste, and reported that it was their own people who were returning. If their terror had caused general consternation, this good news caused no less joy throughout the village. Two chiefs, who had seen Perot blow into his gun at the time of the first alarm, came to let him know of the arrival of their people, and begged him always to consult his gun. All were eager to receive the fleet. As they approached, the new-comers discharged a salvo of musketry, followed by shouts and yells, and continued their firing as they came toward the village. When they were two or three hundred paces from the shore, the chief rose in his canoe and harangued the old men who stood at the water's edge; he gave an account of the favorable reception which had been accorded them at Montreal. An old man informed them, meanwhile praising the sky and the sun who had thus favored them, that there was a Frenchman in the village who had protected them in several times of danger; at this, the Pouteouatemis suddenly flung themselves into the water, to show their joy at so pleasing an occurrence. They had taken pleasure in painting [*matacher*] themselves in a very peculiar manner; and the French garments, which had been intended to make them more comfortable, disfigured them in a ludicrous fashion. They carried Perot with them, whether or no he would, in a scarlet blanket (Monsieur de la Salle was also honored with a like triumph at Huron Island), and made him go around the fort, while they marched in double files in front and behind him, with guns over their shoulders, often firing volleys. This cortege arrived at

the cabin of the chief who had led the band, where all the old men were assembled; and a great feast of sturgeon was served. This chief then related a more detailed account of his voyage, and gave a very correct idea of French usages. He described how the trade was carried on; he spoke with enthusiasm of what he had seen in the houses, especially of the cooking; and he did not forget to exalt Onontio,<sup>211</sup> who had called them his children and had regaled them with bread, prunes, and raisins, which seemed to them great delicacies.

## • Chapter IX

Those peoples were so delighted with the alliance that they had just made that they sent deputies in every direction to inform the Islinois, Miamis,<sup>212</sup> Outagamis,

<sup>211</sup> Onontio was the Huron-Iroquois appellation of the governor of Canada; it was afterward extended to the governor of New York, and even to the king of France. — Ed.

<sup>212</sup> The Miami were an Algonquian tribe, first mentioned (*Relation of* 1658) as living near the mouth of Green Bay; when first seen by the French (in Perrot's visits, 1668 and 1670) they were living at the headwaters of the Fox River — part of them, at least, living with the Mascoutens in a palisaded village there. "Soon after this, the Miami parted from the Mascoutens, and formed new settlements at the south end of Lake Michigan and on Kalamazoo River, Mich. The settlements at the south end of the lake were at Chicago and on St. Joseph River, where missions were established late in the seventeenth century." Those at Chicago were probably the Indians found there by Marquette and some others whom those writers called Wea. The Miami first found in Wisconsin must have been but a part of the tribe, which seems to have occupied territory in northeastern Illinois, northern Indiana, and western Ohio. Their chief village on St. Joseph River was said to be fifteen leagues inland; in 1703 they had also a village at Detroit, and in 1711 at Kekionga (on the Maumee; the seat of the Miami proper), and at Ouiatanon (on the Wabash; the headquarters of the Wea branch). By the encroachments of the northern tribes the Miami were driven from the St. Joseph River and the region northwest of the Wabash, and colonies of them moved eastward to the Miami and Scioto Rivers; but after the peace of 1763 they abandoned these settlements and retired to Indiana. "They took a prominent part in all the Indian wars in Ohio valley until the close of the War of 1812. Soon afterward they began to sell their lands, and by 1827 had disposed of most of their holdings in Indiana and had agreed to remove to Kansas, whence they went



Maskoutechs, and Kikabous that they had been at Montreal, whence they had brought much merchandise; they besought those tribes to visit them and bring them beavers. Those tribes were too far away to profit by this at first; only the Outagamis came to establish themselves for the winter at a place thirty leagues from the bay, in order to share in the benefit of the goods which they could obtain from the Pouteouatemis. Their hope that some Frenchmen would come from Chagouamikon induced them to accumulate as many beavers as possible. The Pouteouatemis took the southern part of the bay, the Sakis the northern; the Puans, as they could not fish, had gone into the woods to live on deer and bears. When the Outagamis had formed a village of more than six hundred cabins, they sent to the Sakis, at the beginning of spring, to let them know of the new establishment that they had formed.<sup>213</sup> The latter sent them some chiefs, with presents, to ask them to remain in this new settlement; they were accompanied by some Frenchmen. They found a large village, but destitute of everything.

later to Indian Territory, where the remnant still resides." One of their bands, however, continued to reside on a reservation in Wabash County, Ind., until 1872, when the land was divided among the survivors, then numbering about 300. Early writers praise the mildness, politeness, and sedateness of the Miami, and their respect and obedience to their chiefs, who had much more authority than those of other Algonquian tribes. It is impossible to make satisfactory statements of the population of the Miami, since they have been so frequently confused with the Wea and Piankashaw tribes. They have rapidly decreased since their removal to the west. "Only 57 Miami were officially known in Indian Territory in 1885, while the Wea and Piankashaw were confederated with the remnant of the Illinois under the name of Peoria, the whole body numbering but 149; these increased to 191 in 1903. The total number of Miami in 1905 in Indian Territory was 124; in Indiana, in 1900, there were 243; the latter, however, are greatly mixed with white blood. Including individuals scattered among other tribes, the whole number is probably 400."

— JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>213</sup> The location of this Outagami village is a matter of dispute, and thus far cannot be positively identified; but most probably it was in Waupaca County, Wis., somewhere on the Little Wolf River. Various local historical writers have placed it near Mukwa, Manawa, or New London. — Ed.



Those people had only five or six hatchets, which had no edge, and they used these, by turns, for cutting their wood; they had hardly one knife or one bodkin to a cabin, and cut their meat with the stones<sup>214</sup> which they used for arrows; and they scaled their fish with mussel-shells. Want rendered them so hideous that they aroused compassion. Although their bodies were large, they seemed deformed in shape; they had very disagreeable faces, brutish voices, and evil aspects. They were

<sup>214</sup> "Primitive men doubtless first used stones in their natural form for throwing, striking, and abrading; but, as use continued, a certain amount of adventitious shaping of the stones employed necessarily took place, and this probably suggested and led to intentional shaping. Men early learned to fracture brittle stones to obtain cutting, scraping, and perforating implements; and flaking, pecking, cutting, scraping, and grinding processes served later to modify shapes and to increase the convenience, effectiveness, and beauty of implements. Much has been learned of the course of progress in the stone-shaping arts from the prehistoric remains of Europe; and studies of the work of the native American tribes, past and present, are supplying data for a much more complete understanding of this important branch of primitive activity." At the time of the discovery, "the Americans north of Mexico were still well within the stone stage of culture. Metal had come somewhat into use, but in no part of the country had it in a very full measure taken the place of stone. According to the most approved views regarding Old World culture history the metal age was not definitely ushered in until bronze and iron came into common use, not only as shaping implements but as shaped product." The tribes of middle America had with stone implements constructed handsome buildings and excellent sculptures, but north of Mexico only the Pueblo group had made intelligent and extensive use of stone in building, except for the limited use made of it by the mound-builders, the Eskimo and some others; sculpture, however, was employed by many other tribes on objects used for purposes of utility, adornment, and religion. A great variety of stones were utilized by the primitive workers, including several semi-precious kinds. "The processes employed in shaping these materials by the American tribes, and for that matter, by the whole primitive world, are: (1) fracturing processes, variously known as breaking, spalling, chipping, flaking; (2) crumbling processes, as battering, pecking; (3) incising or cutting processes; (4) abrading processes, as sawing, drilling, scraping, and grinding; and (5) polishing processes. . . . The knowledge acquired in recent years through experiments in stone-shaping processes has led unfortunately to the manufacture of fraudulent imitations of aboriginal implements and sculptures for commercial purposes, and so great is the skill acquired in some cases that it is extremely difficult to detect the spurious work; thus there is much risk in purchasing objects whose pedigree is not fully ascertained." — W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

continually begging from our Frenchmen who went among them, for those savages imagined that whatever their visitors possessed ought to be given to them gratis; everything aroused their desires, and yet they had few beavers to sell. The French thought it prudent to leave to the Sakis for the winter the trade in peltries with the Outagamis, as they could carry it on with the former more quietly in the autumn.

All the tribes at the bay went to their villages after the winter, to sow their grain. A dispute occurred between two Frenchmen and an old man, who was one of the leading men among the Pouteouatemis; the former demanded payment for the goods; but he did not show much inclination to pay; sharp words arose on both sides, and they came to blows. The Frenchmen were vigorously attacked by the savages, and a third man came to the aid of his comrades. The confusion increased; that Frenchman tore the pendants from the ears of a savage, and gave him a blow in the belly which felled him so rudely that with difficulty could he rise again. At the same time the Frenchman received a blow from a war-club on his head, which caused him to fall motionless. There were great disputes among the savages in regard to the Frenchman who had just been wounded, who had rendered many services to the village. There were three families interested in this contention—those of the Red Carp, of the Black Carp, and of the Bear.<sup>215</sup> The head of the Bear family—an intimate friend of the Frenchman, and whose son-in-law was the chief of the Sakis—seized a hatchet, and declared

<sup>215</sup> These "families" were simply the tribal divisions now known as "clans" or "gentes;" they have been characteristic of savage society in all times and countries. Each clan had its distinctive symbol, usually a fish, bird, or other animal. — Ed.

"An American Indian clan or gens is an intertribal exogamic group of persons either actually or theoretically consanguine, organized to promote

that he would perish with the Frenchman, whom the people of the Red Carp had slain. The Saki chief, hearing the voice of his father-in-law, called his own men to arms; the Bear family did the same; and the

their social and political welfare, the members being usually denoted by a common class name derived generally from some fact relating to the habitat of the group or to its usual tutelary being. In the clan lineal descent, inheritance of personal and common property, and the hereditary right to public office and trust are traced through the female line, while in the gens they devolve through the male line. Clan and gentile organizations are by no means universal among the North American tribes; and totemism, the possession or even the worship of personal or communal totems by individuals or groups of persons, is not an essential feature of clan and gentile organizations. . . . Consanguine kinship among the Iroquoian and Muskogean tribes is traced through the blood of the woman only, and membership in a clan constitutes citizenship in the tribe, conferring certain social, political, and religious privileges, duties, and rights that are denied to aliens. By the legal fiction of adoption the blood of the alien might be changed into one of the strains of Iroquoian blood, and thus citizenship in the tribe could be conferred on a person of alien lineage." The primary social unit among these peoples is the family, comprising all the male and female progeny of a woman and of all her female descendants in the female line and of such other persons as may be adopted into this group; its head is usually the eldest woman in it. It may be composed of one or more firesides, and one or more families may (and usually do) constitute a clan; and all its land is the exclusive property of its women. Among the rights and privileges of the clans are: the right to a common clan name (which is usually that of an animal, bird, reptile, or natural object that may formerly have been regarded as a guardian deity); representation in the tribal council; its share in the communal property of the tribe; protection by the tribe; certain songs and religious observances; clan councils; adoption of aliens; a common burying-ground; the election or impeachment of chiefs by its women; a share in the religious ceremonies and public festivals of the tribe; etc. Their duties: the obligation not to marry within the clan; that of redeeming the life of a clan member which has become forfeited for homicide; to aid and defend fellow-members, and to avenge their deaths; to replace by other persons their clansmen lost or killed. "Clans and gentes are generally organized into phratries and phratries into tribes. Usually only two phratries are found in the modern organization of the tribes. . . . One or more clans may compose a phratry. The clans of the phratries are regarded as brothers one to another and cousins to the other members of the phratry, and are so addressed. . . . The phratry is the unit of organization of the people for ceremonial and other assemblages and festival, but as a phratry it has no officers; the chiefs and elders of the clans composing it serve as its directors." The government of a clan or gens seems to be developed from that of the family group, and in turn gives rise to the tribal government; and a confederation, such as the Iroquois League, is governed on the same principle. — J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



wounded Frenchman began to recover consciousness. He calmed the Sakis, who were greatly enraged; but the savage who had maltreated him was compelled to abandon the village. These same Frenchmen's lives were in danger on still another occasion. One of them, who was amusing himself with some arrows, told a Saki who was bathing at the water's edge to ward off the shaft that he was going to let fly at him. The savage, who held a small piece of cloth, told him to shoot; but he was not adroit enough to avoid the arrow, which wounded him in the shoulder. He immediately called out that the Frenchman had slain him; but another Frenchman hastened to the savage, made him enter his cabin, and drew out the arrow. He was pacified by giving him a knife, a little vermilion to paint his face, and a piece of tobacco. This present was effectual; for when, at the Saki's cry, several of his comrades came, ready to avenge him on the spot, the wounded man cried, "What are you about? I am healed. Metaminens" (which means "little Indian corn"—this name they had given to the Frenchman, who was Perot himself) "has tied my hands by this ointment which you see upon my wound, and I have no more anger," at the same time showing the present that Perot had given him. This presence of mind checked the disturbance that was about to arise.

The Miamis, the Maskoutechs, the Kikabous, and fifteen cabins of Illinois came toward the bay in the following summer, and made their clearings thirty miles away, beside the Outagamis, toward the south. These peoples, for whom the Iroquois were looking, had gone southward along the Mississippi after the combat which I have mentioned.<sup>216</sup> Before that flight, they had seen

<sup>216</sup> Apparently a reference to the overthrow of the Winnebago by the Illinois, described in chapter vii. — Ed.



knives and hatchets in the hands of the Hurons who had had dealings with the French, which induced them to associate themselves with the tribes who already had some union with us. They are very sportive when among their own people, but grave before strangers; well built; lacking in intelligence, and dull of apprehension; easily persuaded; vain in language and behavior, and extremely selfish. They consider themselves much braver than their neighbors; they are great liars, employing every kind of baseness to accomplish their ends; but they are industrious, indefatigable, and excellent pedestrians. For this last reason, they are called *Metousceprinioueks*, which in their language means "Walkers."

After they had planted their fields in this new settlement, they went to hunt cattle.<sup>217</sup> They wished to entertain the people at the bay; so they sent envoys to ask the *Pouteouatemis* to visit them, and to bring the Frenchmen, if they were still with them. But those savages were careful not to let their guests know how desirous their neighbors were to become acquainted with the French; so they went away without telling the latter, and came back at the end of a fortnight, loaded with meat and grease. With them were some of those new settlers, who were greatly surprised to see the French—whom they reproached for not having come to visit them with the *Pouteouatemis*. The French saw plainly that the latter were jealous, and they recognized the importance of becoming acquainted with those peoples, who had come to the bay on purpose to trade more conveniently with us. The *Pouteouatemis*, when they saw that the French desired to go away with a *Miami* and a *Maskoutech*, made representations to them that there were no beavers among those people—who,

<sup>217</sup> Buffaloes (see note 93) are here meant; they were usually called "wild cattle" or "wild cows" by the early French explorers and writers. — ED.

moreover, were very boorish—and even that they were in great danger of being plundered. The French took their departure, notwithstanding these tales, and in five days reached the vicinity of the village.<sup>218</sup> The Maskoutech sent ahead the Miami, who had a gun, with orders to fire it when he arrived there; the report of the gun was heard soon afterward. Hardly had they reached the shore when a venerable old man appeared, and a woman carrying a bag in which was a clay pot<sup>219</sup> filled with cornmeal porridge. More than two hundred

<sup>218</sup> The location of this Mascouten village is uncertain. There have been numerous attempts to identify it, the proposed sites ranging from Corning, Columbia County, to Rushford, Winnebago County; but the majority locate it in Green Lake County, perhaps the most probable conjecture being at or near Berlin. See *Jesuit Relations*, vol. liv; *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, vol. xii, 31-34, 76-80, and vol. xiv, 98-100; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xvi, 42.—ED.

<sup>219</sup> "Many of the more cultured American tribes were skilful potters. . . . Within the area of the United States the art had made very considerable advance in two cultured centers—the Pueblo region of the southwest and the great mound province of the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf States. Over the remainder of North America, north of Mexico, the potter's art was limited to the making of rude utensils or was practically unknown. The Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, as well as some of the adjacent tribes to lesser extent, still practise the art in its aboriginal form, and the Cherokee and Catawba of North and South Carolina have not yet ceased to manufacture utensils of clay, although the shapes have been much modified by contact with the whites. The Choctaw of Mississippi and the Mandan of the middle Missouri valley have but recently abandoned the art." Pottery is an art not available among nomads, and needs the sedentary life for its development. "The introduction or rise of the potter's art among primitive peoples is believed to correspond somewhat closely with the initial stages of barbarism; but this idea must be liberally interpreted, as some tribes well advanced toward higher barbarism are without it. The clay used was mixed with various tempering ingredients, such as sand or pulverized stone, potsherds, and shells; the shapes were extremely varied and generally were worked out by the hand, aided by simple modeling tools. The building of the vessel, the principal product of the potter's art, varied with the different tribes. Usually a bit of the clay was shaped into a disk for the base, and the walls were carried up by adding strips of clay until the rim was reached. When the strips were long they were carried around as a spiral coil. As the height increased the clay was allowed to set sufficiently to support the added weight. . . . As a rule, the baking was done in open or smothered fires or in extremely crude furnaces, and the paste remained comparatively soft. In Central America a variety of ware was made with hard paste somewhat resembling our stoneware. Notwithstanding the remark-

stout young men came upon the scene; their hair was adorned with headdresses of various sorts, and their

able aptness of the Americans in this art, and their great skill in modeling, they had not achieved the wheel, nor had they fully mastered the art of glazing. . . . Women were the potters, and the product consisted mainly of vessels for household use, although the most cultured tribes made and decorated vases for exclusively ceremonial purposes. In some communities a wide range of articles was made, the plastic nature of the material having led to the shaping of many fanciful forms. . . . The ornamentation of vases included the modeling of various life forms in the round and in relief, and incising, imprinting, and stamping designs of many kinds in the soft clay. The more advanced potters employed color in surface finish and in executing various designs. The designs were often geometric and primitive in type, but in many sections life forms were introduced in great variety and profusion, and these were no doubt often symbolic, having definite relation to the use of the object, ceremonial or otherwise. Unbroken examples of earthenware are preserved mainly through burial with the dead, and the numerous specimens in our collections were obtained mostly from burial places. On inhabited sites the vessels are usually broken, but even in this form they are of great value to the archeologist for the reason that they contain markings or other features peculiar to the tribes concerned in their manufacture. . . . The tribes of the plains did not practise the art save in its simplest forms, but the ancient tribes of the middle and lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf states were excellent potters. The forms of the vessels and the styles of decoration are exceedingly varied, and indicate a remarkable predilection for the modeling of life forms—men, beasts, birds, and fishes; and the grotesque was much affected. Aside from plastic embellishment, the vases were decorated in color, and more especially in incised and stamped designs, those on the Gulf coast presenting slight suggestions of the influence of the semi-civilized cultures of Yucatan, Mexico, and the West Indies. The pottery of the tribes of the north Atlantic states and Canada consists mainly of simple culinary utensils, mostly round or conical bodied bowls and pots decorated with angular incised lines and textile imprintings. The best examples are recovered from burial places in central-southern New York and northern Pennsylvania—the region occupied from the earliest times by the Iroquois. The clay tobacco pipes of this section are unusually interesting, and display decided skill in modeling, although this work has been influenced to some extent by the presence of the whites (Holmes). The practical absence of pottery in the Pacific states and British Columbia is noteworthy. . . . The early and very general use of basketry and of stone vessels in this region may have operated to retard the development of the potter's art. North of the Canadian boundary conditions were not favorable to the development of this art, although specimens of rude earthenware are obtained from mounds and other sites in certain regions. "The pottery of eastern United States is reviewed at considerable length in the 20th Annual Report (1903) of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with many illustrations and numerous references (Holmes); and the publications of Mr. Clarence B. Moore on his explorations in the Southern States contain much new and important



bodies were covered with tattooing in black, representing many kinds of figures; \* they carried arrows and war-clubs, and wore girdles and leggings of braided work. The old man held in his hand a calumet of red stone, with a long stick at the end; this was ornamented in its

information, with many illustrations. The varied ware of the Pueblo country is described in reports of the Bureau by J. and M. C. Stevenson, Cushing, Holmes, and Fewkes; by Hough in the National Museum reports, and by Nordenskjöld in his work on the Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde."

—W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

\* "Tattooing is a form of picture-writing more widespread than any other and perhaps more commonly practised. Originating in very ancient times, it persists to-day among certain classes of civilized peoples. Besides the permanent marking of the body by means of coloring matter introduced under the skin, tattooing includes scarification and body painting. Whether the practice of tattoo had its origin in a desire for personal adornment, or, as concluded by Spencer and others, as a means of tribal marks, its final purposes and significance among our Indians were found by Mallery to be various and to include the following: tribal, clan, and family marks; to distinguish between free and slave, high and low; as certificates of bravery in passing prescribed ordeals or in war; as religious symbols; as a therapeutic remedy or a prophylactic; as a certificate of marriage in the case of women, or of marriageable condition; as a personal mark, in distinction to a tribal mark; as a charm; to inspire fear in an enemy; to render the skin impervious to weapons; to bring good fortune; and as the design of a secret society."—H. W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Pictographs." (For full and detailed description of this custom (with illustrations), see Garrick Mallery's papers on picture-writing in the fourth and tenth *Reports* of the Bureau of Ethnology.)

"Vases have been found in the mounds of the middle Mississippi Valley showing the human face with tattoo marks, some of the designs combining geometric and totemic figures. As tattooing gave a permanent line, it served a different purpose from decoration by paint. Among men it marked personal achievement, some special office, symbolized a vision from the supernatural powers, or served some practical purpose [as sometimes a mark on the arm for the purpose of measuring]. Among women the tattooing was more social in its significance," and the designs used therein are closely connected with those employed in pottery and basket-work. "The Chippewa sometimes resorted to tattooing as a means of curing pain, as the toothache. The process of tattooing was always attended with more or less ceremony; chants or songs frequently accompanied the actual work, and many superstitions were attached to the manner in which the one operated upon bore the pain or made recovery. Most tribes had one or more persons expert in the art who received large fees for their services." Among the Plains tribes steel needles were used; before these were introduced, sharp flints served the purpose. "The dyes injected to give color to the design varied in different parts of the country."

—ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



whole length with the heads of birds, flame-colored, and had in the middle a bunch of feathers colored a bright red, which resembled a great fan. As soon as he espied the leader of the Frenchmen, he presented to him the calumet, on the side next to the sun; and uttered words which were apparently addressed to all the spirits whom those peoples adore. The old man held it sometimes toward the east, and sometimes toward the west; then toward the sun; now he would stick the end in the ground, and then he would turn the calumet around him, looking at it as if he were trying to point out the whole earth, with expressions which gave the Frenchman to understand that he had compassion on all men. Then he rubbed with his hands Perot's head, back, legs, and feet, and sometimes his own body. This welcome lasted a long time, during which the old man made a harangue, after the fashion of a prayer, all to assure the Frenchman of the joy which all in the village felt at his arrival.

One of the men spread upon the grass a large painted ox-skin, the hair on which was as soft as silk, on which he and his comrade were made to sit. The old man struck two pieces of wood together, to obtain fire from it; but as it was wet he could not light it. The Frenchman drew forth his own fire-steel, and immediately made fire with tinder. The old man uttered loud exclamations about the iron, which seemed to him a spirit; the calumet was lighted, and each man smoked; then they must eat porridge and dried meat, and suck the juice of the green corn. Again the calumet was filled, and those who smoked blew the tobacco-smoke into the Frenchman's face, as the greatest honor that they could render him; he saw himself smoked [*boucaner*] like meat, but said not a word. This ceremony ended, a skin was spread for the Frenchman's comrade. The

savages thought that it was their duty to carry the French guests; but the latter informed the Maskoutechs that, as they could shape the iron, they had strength to walk, so they were left at liberty. On the way, they rested again, and the same honors were paid to him as at the first meeting. Continuing their route, they halted near a high hill, at the summit of which was the village; they made their fourth halt here, and the ceremonies were repeated. The great chief of the Miamis came to meet them, at the head of more than three thousand men, accompanied by the chiefs of other tribes who formed part of the village. Each of these chiefs had a calumet, as handsome as that of the old man; they were entirely naked, wearing only shoes, which were artistically embroidered like buskins;<sup>220</sup> they sang, as they approached, the calumet song, which they uttered in

<sup>220</sup> Probably this was the embroidery with porcupine quills which formerly was so much in vogue among the northern Indians; an important reason for its decline is the fact that the porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatus*) has been almost exterminated in many regions. — ED.

Among the arts practiced by Indian women was that of embroidery worked with quills, usually those of the porcupine, sometimes those of bird feathers; "in both cases the stiffness of the quill limits freedom of design, making necessary straight lines and angular figures. The gathering of the raw materials, the hunting of porcupines or the capture of birds, was the task of the men, who also in some tribes prepared the dyes. Sorting and coloring the quills, tracing the design on dressed skin or birchbark, and the embroidering were exclusively the work of women." The dyes, which varied in different parts of the country, were compounded variously of roots, whole plants, and buds and bark of trees. The quills were usually steeped in concoctions of these until a uniform color was obtained — red, yellow, green, blue, or black." The porcupine quills were always flattened for this work, by pressing the edge between the forefinger and thumb-nail. The designs were drawn or painted on the skin or bark by means of a sort of stencil pattern, drawn on skin, bark, or paper, and cut through to form the stencil. "A woman who was skilled or had a natural gift for drawing would copy a design by the freehand method, except that she had first made some measurements in order that the pattern should be in its proper place and proportions. Some even composed designs, both the forms and the arrangement of colors, and worked them out as they embroidered. Among most tribes the awl was the only instrument used in quill-working; but the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux, the principal quill-

cadence. When they reached the Frenchmen, they continued their songs, meanwhile bending their knees, in turn, almost to the ground. They presented the calu-

working tribes, had a specially shaped bone for flattening, bending, and smoothing." — JAMES MOONEY.

"All designs in quillwork were made up of wide or narrow lines, each composed of a series of upright stitches lying close together. . . The stems of pipes were decorated with fine flattened quills, closely woven into a long and very narrow braid, which was wound about the wooden stem. Different colors were sometimes so disposed along the length of these braids that when they were wound around the stem they made squares or other figures. . . Porcupine quills were employed for embroidery from Maine to Virginia and west to the Rocky Mountains north of the Arkansas River. "Quills seem to have been an article of barter; hence their use was not confined to regions where the animal abounded. This style of decoration was generally put on tobacco and tinder bags, workbags, knife and paint-stick cases, cradles, amulets, the bands of burden straps, tunics, shirts, leggings, belts, arm and leg bands, moccasins, robes, and sometimes on the trappings of horses. All such objects were of dressed skin. Receptacles and other articles made of birch bark also were frequently embroidered with quills. Nearly every tribe has its peculiar cut for moccasins, often also its special style of ornamentation, and these were carefully observed by the workers. The dress of the men was more ornate than that of the women, and the decorations the women put on the former were generally related to man's employments—hunting and war. The figures were frequently designed by the men, and a man very often designated what particular figure he desired a woman to embroider on his garment. Some designs belonged exclusively to women; there were, moreover, some that were common to both sexes. The decorative figures worked on the garments of children not infrequently expressed a prayer for safety, long life, and prosperity, and usually were symbolic. There was considerable borrowing of designs by the women through the medium of gifts exchanged between tribes during ceremonial observances or visits, and thus figures that were sacred symbols in some tribes came to be used merely as ornaments by others. Some of the designs in quillwork were undoubtedly originated by men, while others were invented by women. These were frequently credited to dreams sent by the spider, who, according to certain tribal mythic traditions, was the instructor of women in the art of embroidery. Technical skill as well as unlimited patience was required to make even, smooth, and fine porcupine quillwork, and proficiency could be acquired only by practice and nice attention to details. The art seems to have reached its highest development among those tribes where the food supply was abundant and the men were the principal providers—conditions that made it possible for the women to have the leisure necessary for them to become adept in the working of quills. This art, which formerly flourished over a wide area, is rapidly dying out. It is doubtful whether any woman at the present day could duplicate the fine embroidery of a hundred years ago." — ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



met to the sun, with the same genuflexions, and then they came back to the principal Frenchman, with many gesticulations. Some played upon instruments the calumet songs, and others sang them, holding the calumet in the mouth without lighting it. A war chief raised Perot upon his shoulders, and, accompanied by all the musicians, conducted him to the village. The Maskoutech who had been his guide offered him to the Miamis, to be lodged among them; they very amiably declined, being unwilling to deprive the Maskoutechs of the pleasure of possessing a Frenchman who had consented to come under their auspices. At last he was taken to the cabin of the chief of the Maskoutechs;<sup>221</sup> as he en-

<sup>221</sup> Mascoutens (meaning "little prairie people") is "a term used by some early writers in a collective and indefinite sense to designate the Algonquian tribes living on the prairies of Wisconsin and Illinois . . . the name (*Mashko'tens*) is at present applied by the Potawatomi to that part of the tribe officially known as the 'Prairie band' and formerly residing on the prairies of northern Illinois." According to Ottawa tradition there was in early days a tribe called Mushkodainsug (or Mascoutens) on the east shore of Lake Michigan, who were driven by enemies farther southward, together with an allied tribe who are thought to have been the Sauk (to whom the Mascoutens were evidently closely related); and these are supposed to have entered Wisconsin together, passing around the southern end of Lake Michigan. Perrot was the first Frenchman to visit them; he was followed by Allouez (1670) and Marquette (1673), who both found them in this same village on the Fox River, living with the Miami and Kickapoo. In 1680 the Mascoutens are mentioned as living on Lake Winnebago and the Milwaukee River (probably two different bands who had wandered thither). In 1712 the upper Mascoutens and the Kickapoo joined the Foxes against the French; but at the siege of Detroit in the same year these tribes were attacked by other Indians, allies of the French, and nearly a thousand of them were killed or captured. "In 1718 the Mascoutens and Kickapoo were living together in a single village on Rock River, Ill., and were estimated together at 200 men. In 1736 the Mascoutens are mentioned as numbering 60 warriors, living with the Kickapoo on Fox River, Wis., and having the wolf and deer totems. These are among the existing gentes of the Sauk and Foxes. They were last mentioned as living in Wisconsin between 1770 and 1780; and the last definite notice of them mentions those on the Wabash in connection with the Piankashaw and Kickapoo. "After this the Mascoutens disappear from history, the northern group having probably been absorbed by the Sauk and Fox confederacy, and the southern group by the Kickapoo. Notwithstanding some commendatory ex-



tered, the lighted calumet was presented to him, which he smoked; and fifty guardsmen were provided for him, who prevented the crowd from annoying him. A grand repast was served, the various courses of which reminded one of feeding-troughs rather than dishes; the food was seasoned with the fat of the wild ox. The guards took good care that provisions should be brought often, for they profited thereby.

On the next day, the Frenchman gave them, as presents, a gun and a kettle; and made them the following speech, which was suited to their character: "Men, I admire your youths; although they have since their birth seen only shadows, they seem to me as fine-looking as those who are born in regions where the sun always displays his glory. I would not have believed that the earth, the mother of all men, could have furnished you the means of subsistence when you did not possess the light of the Frenchman, who supplies its influences to many peoples; I believe that you will become another nation when you become acquainted with him. I am the dawn of that light, which is beginning to appear in your lands, as it were, that which precedes the sun, who will soon shine brightly and will cause you to be born again, as if in another land, where you will find, more easily and in greater abundance, all that can be necessary to man. I see this fine village filled with young men, who are, I am sure, as courageous as they are well built; and who will, without doubt, not fear their enemies if they carry French weapons. It is for these young men that I leave my gun, which they must regard as the pledge of my esteem for their valor; they must use it

pressions by one or two of the early missionaries, the Mascoutens, like the Kickapoo, bore a reputation for treachery and deceit, but, like the Foxes, appear to have been warlike and restless." — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

if they are attacked. It will also be more satisfactory in hunting cattle and other animals than are all the arrows that you use. To you who are old men I leave my kettle; I carry it everywhere without fear of breaking it. You will cook in it the meat that your young men bring from the chase, and the food which you offer to the Frenchmen who come to visit you." He tossed a dozen awls and knives to the women, and said to them: "Throw aside your bone bodkins; these French awls will be much easier to use. These knives will be more useful to you in killing beavers and in cutting your meat than are the pieces of stone that you use." Then, throwing to them some rassade:<sup>222</sup> "See; these will better adorn your children and girls than do their usual ornaments."

<sup>222</sup> *Rassade* was a French term for beads of the round sort; they were made of porcelain and of glass, both white and in various colors. The long tubular beads were known as canons. — ED.

Beads, of many kinds and materials, formed a valued class of ornaments among the Indians. "All were made from mineral, vegetal, or animal substances; and after the discovery the introduction of beads of glass or porcelain, as well as that of metal tools for making the old varieties, greatly multiplied their employment." They were of many sizes and shapes—round, tubular, or flat; and some of the cylinders were several inches long. Seeds, nuts, and sections of stems and roots were used as beads; but "far the largest share of beads were made from animal materials—shell, bone, horn, teeth, claws, and ivory." In their manufacture much taste and manual skill were developed. They were used for personal adornment in many forms and combinations, and formed a prominent feature in the embellishment of ceremonial costumes; and were "attached to bark and wooden vessels, matting, basketry, and other textiles. They were woven into fabrics or wrought into network. . . . They were also largely employed as gifts and as money, also as tokens and in records of hunts or of important events, such as treaties. They were conspicuous accessories in the councils of war and peace, in the conventional expression of tribal symbolism, and in traditional story-telling, and were offered in worship. They were regarded as insignia of functions, and were buried, often in vast quantities, with the dead." In the eastern part of Canada and the United States beads were largely made from shells. "In the north small white and purple cylinders, called wampum, served for ornament and were used in elaborate treaty belts and as a money standard, also flat disks an inch or more in width being bored through their long diameters. The Cherokee name for beads and money is the same. Subsequently imitated by the colonists, these beads received a fixed value. The mound-builders and other tribes of the

The Miamis said, by way of excuse for not having any beaver-skins, that they had until then roasted those animals.

That alliance began, therefore, through the agency of *Sieur Perot*. A week later the savages made a solemn feast, to thank the sun for having conducted him to their village. In the cabin of the great chief of the Miamis an altar had been erected, on which he had caused to be placed a *Pindiikosan*. This is a warrior's pouch, filled with medicinal herbs wrapped in the skins of animals, the rarest that they can find; it usually contains all that inspires their dreams. *Perot*, who did not approve this altar, told the great chief that he adored a God who forbade him to eat things sacrificed to evil spirits or to the skins of animals. They were greatly surprised at this, and asked if he would eat provided they shut up their *Manitous*; this he consented to do. The chief begged *Perot* to consecrate him to his Spirit, whom he would thenceforth acknowledge; he said that he would prefer that Spirit to his own, who had not taught them to make hatchets, kettles, and all else that men need; and he hoped that by adoring him they would obtain all the knowledge that the French had. This chief governed his people as a sort of sovereign; he had his guards, and whatever he said or ordered was regarded as law.

Mississippi Valley and the Gulf States used pearls, and beads of shells, seeds, and rolled copper. Canine teeth of the elk were most highly esteemed, recently being worth fifty cents to one dollar each. They were carefully saved, and a garment covered with them was valued at as much as six hundred or eight hundred dollars. . . . After the colonization cradles and articles of skin were profusely covered with beadwork replete with symbolism."

— OTIS T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

"The true needle with an eye was extremely rare among the Indians, the awl being the universal implement for sewing. The needle and needle-case came to be generally employed only after the advent of the whites, although bone needles three to five inches long are common in Ontario and the Iroquois area of New York." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



The Pouteouatemis, jealous that the French had found the way to the Miamis, secretly sent a slave to the latter, who said many unkind things about the French; he said that the Pouteouatemis held them in the utmost contempt, and regarded them as dogs. The French, who had heard all these abusive remarks, put him into a condition where he could say no more outrageous things; the Miamis regarded the spectacle with great tranquillity. When it was time to return to the bay, the chiefs sent all their young men to escort the Frenchmen thither, and made them many presents. The Pouteouatemis, having learned of the Frenchman's arrival, came to assure him of the interest they felt in his safe return, and were very impatient to know whether the tribes from whom he had come had treated him well. But when they heard the reproaches which he uttered for their sending a slave who had said most ungenerous things regarding the French nation, they attempted to make an explanation of their conduct, but fully justified the poor opinion which he already had of them. The savages have this characteristic, that they find a way to free themselves from blame in any evil undertaking, or to make it succeed without seeming to have taken part in it.

## Chapter X

It was for the interest of the Pouteouatemis to keep on good terms with the French; and they had been too well received at Montreal not to return thither. Indeed, after having presented to Perot a bag of Indian corn, that he might, they said, "eat and swallow the suspicion that he felt toward them," and five beaver robes to serve as an emetic for the ill-will and vengeance which he might retain in his heart, they sent some of their people



on a journey to Montreal. When they came in sight of Michilimakinak, which then was frequented only by them and the Iroquois, they perceived smoke. While they were trying to ascertain what this meant, they encountered two Iroquois, and saw another canoe off shore. Each party was alarmed at the other; as for the Iroquois, they took to flight, while the Pouteouatemis, plying their paddles against contrary winds, fled to their own village; they felt an extraordinary anxiety, for they knew not what measures to take for protection against the Iroquois. All the peoples of the bay experienced the same perplexity. Their terror was greatly increased when, a fortnight later, they saw large fires on the other shore of the bay, and heard many gun-shots. As a climax to their fears, the scouts whom they had sent out brought back the news that they had seen at night many canoes made in Iroquois fashion, in one of which was a gun, and a blanket of Iroquois material; and some men, who were sleeping by a fire. All those canoes came in sight the next morning, and each one fled, at the top of his speed, into the forest; only the most courageous took the risk of awaiting, with resolute air, the Iroquois in their fort, where they had good firearms. As we were at peace with the Iroquois, some of the bolder spirits among our Frenchmen offered to go to meet that so-called army, in order to learn the motive which could have impelled them to come to wage war against the allies of Onontio. They were greatly surprised to find that it was a fleet of Outaouaks, who had come to trade; these people had, while traveling across the country, built some canoes which resembled those of the Iroquois. The men whom the Pouteouatemis had seen at Michilimakinak were really Iroquois; but they had feared falling into the hands of the Pouteouatemis quite as much

as the latter had feared them. The Iroquois, while fleeing, fell into an ambushade of forty Sauteurs, who carried them away to the Sauteur village; they had come from a raid against the Chaouanons<sup>223</sup> near Carolina,

<sup>223</sup> The French form of Shawnee (an Algonkin name meaning "southerners"), "formerly a leading tribe of South Carolina, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. By reason of the indefinite character of their name, their wandering habits, their connection with other tribes, and because of their interior position away from the traveled routes of early days, the Shawnee were long a stumbling block in the way of investigators. . . . The tradition of the Delawares, as embodied in the *Walum Olum*, makes themselves, the Shawnee, and the Nanticoke, originally one people, the separation having taken place after the traditional expulsion of the Talligewi (Cherokee) from the north, it being stated that the Shawnee went south. The close similarity of dialect would bear out the statement as to relationship. Beyond this it is useless to theorize on the origin of the Shawnee or to strive to assign them any earlier location than that in which they were first known and where their oldest traditions place them—the Cumberland basin in Tennessee, with an outlying colony on the middle Savannah in South Carolina. In this position, as their name may imply, they were the southern advance-guard of the Algonquian stock. Their real history begins in 1669-1670. They were then living in two bodies at a considerable distance apart, and these two divisions were not fully united until nearly a century later, when the tribe settled in Ohio. The attempt to reconcile conflicting statements without a knowledge of this fact has occasioned much of the confusion in regard to the Shawnee. The apparent anomaly of a tribe living in two divisions at such a distance from each other is explained when we remember that the intervening territory was occupied by the Cherokee, who were at that time the friends of the Shawnee. The evidence afforded by the mounds shows that the two tribes lived together for a considerable period, both in South Carolina and Tennessee, and it is a matter of history that the Cherokee claimed the country vacated by the Shawnee in both states after the removal of the latter to the north. . . . The Shawnee of South Carolina, who appear to have been the Piqua division of the tribe, were known to the early settlers of that state as Savannahs, that being nearly the form of the name in use among the neighboring Muskogean tribes." The Shawnee removed to the north apparently through dissatisfaction with the English colonists, who were allies of the Catawba, enemies of the Shawnee; "their removal from South Carolina was gradual, beginning about 1677 and continuing at intervals through a period of more than thirty years. . . . Permission to settle on the Delaware was granted by the colonial government on condition of their making peace with the Iroquois, who then received them as 'brothers,' while the Delawares acknowledged them as their 'second sons,' i.e., grandsons. The Shawnee to-day refer to the Delawares as their grand-fathers. From this it is evident that the Shawnee were never conquered by the Iroquois, and, in fact, we find the western band a few years previously assisting the Miami against the latter." Some of the migrating Shawnee joined

and had brought with them a captive from that tribe, whom they were going to burn. The Sauteurs set him at liberty, and enabled him to return to the bay by entrusting him to the Sakis. This man gave them marvelous notions of the South Sea, from which his village was distant only five days' journey—near a great river which, coming from the Islinois, discharges its waters into that sea.<sup>224</sup> The tribes of the bay sent him home with much merchandise, urging him to persuade his tribesmen to come and visit them.

These peoples held several councils, to deliberate whether they should go down to Montreal; they hesitated at first, because they had so few beavers. As the savages give everything to their mouths, they preferred the Mohican and became a part of that tribe; and those who had settled on the Delaware afterward removed to the Wyoming Valley, and formed their village near the present town of Wyoming. The Delawares and Munsee followed them in 1742, and made their village on the opposite bank of the Susquehanna; about fifteen years later the Shawnee quarreled with the Delawares, and joined their tribesmen on the upper Ohio, soon becoming allies of the French. The Cumberland (or western) division of the Shawnee seem never to have crossed the Alleghanies to the eastward. Their principal village was on the Cumberland River, near the present Nashville, Tenn. "They seem also to have ranged northeastward to the Kentucky River, and southward to the Tennessee. It will thus be seen that they were not isolated from the great body of the Algonquian tribes, as has frequently been represented to have been the case, but simply occupied an interior position, adjoining the kindred Illinois and Miami, with whom they kept up constant communication. . . . These western Shawnee are mentioned about the year 1672 as being harassed by the Iroquois, and also as allies of the Andastes, or Conestoga, who were themselves at war with the Iroquois;" and the two tribes were probably allies against the Iroquois. It is in 1684 that we find the first reliable mention of the Shawnee (evidently the western bands) in the country north of the Ohio; and they finally abandoned the Cumberland Valley soon after 1714, in consequence of a war between them and the Cherokee and Chickasaw—finally (about 1730) collecting along the north bank of the Ohio, from the Allegheny to the Scioto. Soon after 1750 they were joined by their kindred from the Susquehanna, the first time in their history when the divisions were united. — *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>224</sup> A reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River—then, however, supposed to flow into the Pacific Ocean (then called the South Sea). — Ed.



to devote themselves to hunting such wild beasts as could furnish subsistence for their families, rather than seek beavers, of which there were not enough; they preferred the needs of life to those of the state. Nevertheless, they reflected that if they allowed the Frenchmen to go away without themselves going down to trade, it might happen that the latter would thereafter attach themselves to some other tribes; or, if they should afterward go to Montreal, the governor would feel resentment against them because they had not escorted these Frenchmen thither. They decided that they would go with the Frenchmen; preparations for this were accordingly made, and a solemn feast was held; and on the eve of their departure a volley of musketry was fired in the village. Three men sang incessantly, all night long, in a cabin, invoking their spirits from time to time. They began with the song of Michabous; then they came to that of the god of lakes, rivers, and forests, begging the winds, the thunder, the storms, and the tempests to be favorable to them during the voyage. The next day, the crier went through the village, inviting the men to the cabin where the feast was to be prepared. They found no difficulty in going thither, each furnished with his Ouragan and Mikouen ["his dish and spoon"—La Potherie]. The three musicians of the previous night began to sing; one was placed at the entrance of the cabin, another in the middle, and the third at its end; they were armed with quivers, bows, and arrows, and their faces and entire bodies were blackened with coal. While the people sat in this assembly, in the utmost quiet, twenty young men—entirely naked, elaborately painted [*matachez*]\* and wearing girdles of otter-skin,

\* "The tribes north of Mexico, as well as those of every part of the continent except, perhaps, the higher arctic regions, delighted in the use of color. It was very generally employed for embellishing the person and in applying



to which were attached the skins of crows, with their plumage, and gourds—lifted from the fires ten great kettles; then the singing ceased. The first of these actors next sang his war-song, keeping time with it in a dance from one end to the other of the cabin, while all the savages cried in deep guttural tones, "Hay, hay!" When the musician ended, all the others uttered a loud yell, in which their voices gradually died away, much as a loud noise disappears among the mountains. Then the second and the third musicians repeated, in turn, the same performance; and, in a word, nearly all the savages did the same, in alternation—each singing his own song, but no one venturing to repeat that of another, unless he were willing deliberately to offend the one who had composed the song, or unless the latter were dead (in order to exalt, as it were, the dead man's name by appropriating his song). During this, their looks were accompanied with gestures and violent movements; and some of them took hatchets, with which they pretended to strike the women and children who were watching them. Some took firebrands, which they tossed about everywhere; others filled their dishes with red-hot coals, which they threw at each other. It is difficult to make the reader understand the details of feasts of this sort, unless he has himself seen them. I was present at a like entertainment among the Iroquois at the Sault of Mon-

decorative and symbolic designs to habitations, sculptures, masks, shields, articles of bark, skin, pottery, etc., in executing pictographs upon natural surfaces of many kinds, as on cliffs and the walls of caverns, and in preparing the symbolic embellishments of altars and the sacred chambers. Color was applied to the person for decorative purposes as an essential feature of the toilet; for impressing beholders with admiration or fear; for purposes of obscurity and deception; in applying tribal, personal, or other denotive devices; in the application of symbolic designs, especially on ceremonial occasions; and as a means of protection from insects and the sun. The native love of color and skill in its use were manifested especially in decorative work." The pigments were both mineral and vegetal, and the aborigines were skilled in preparing them. — W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Painting."

treal, and it seemed as if I were in the midst of hell. After most of those who had been invited to this pleasant festival had sung, the chief of the feast, who had given the dance, sang a second time; and he said at the end of his song (which he improvised) that he was going to Montreal with the Frenchmen, and was on that account offering these prayers to their God, entreating him to be propitious to him on the voyage, and to render him acceptable to the French nation. The young men who had taken off the kettles took all the dishes, which they filled with food, while the three chanters [*chantres de la nuit*, "night-birds"] repeated their first songs, not finishing their concert until everything had been eaten—a feat which did not take long to accomplish. An old man arose and congratulated, in the most affable manner, the chief of the feast on the project which he had formed, and encouraged the young men to follow him. All those who wished to go on the voyage laid down a stick; there were enough people to man thirty canoes. At the Sault, they joined seventy other canoes, of various tribes, all of whom formed a single fleet.

These voyageurs, passing through the Nepicing [Lake], found only a few Nepiciriniens<sup>225</sup> old men, and some women and children, the young men being at Montreal for trading. Those people concealed the resentment that they felt at not hearing any mention [by their

<sup>225</sup> The Nipissing (an Algonquian tribe) lived about the lake of that name (meaning "little water or lake") until about 1650, when they were attacked by the Iroquois and many of their number slain; then they fled to Lake Nipigon for a time. By 1671 they had returned to Lake Nipissing, and later part of the tribe went to Three Rivers, and some settled at Oka (where they still live), the village of the converted Iroquois. They were a comparatively unwarlike people, firm friends to the French, and ready to accept the teachings of the Catholic missionaries. They were semi-nomadic, spending the winters among the Hurons to fish and hunt; cultivated the soil but little, and traded with the northern tribes. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

visitors] of paying their toll, because there were some Frenchmen, whom they were therefore very willing to treat with consideration; meanwhile they entertained the latter, as they were the most prominent men in the fleet. The guests halted an entire day, in order to conform to the usual custom of the savages who accord to their allies this right of hospitality. Next day the fleet passed through the Nepicing, and on the following day they descried some people in canoes, who uttered cries for the dead. All the fleet made for the shore, in order to wait for them; they reported that the pest was making great havoc in our colony, and they said too much about it not to frighten the more credulous of the travelers, who desired to give up their voyage. The Outaouaks, who saw all the canoes of these false alarmists arrive gradually, were surprised that they were in so good condition, and that they were so laden with merchandise. The [real] motive of those people was, to obtain at a moderate price, for themselves, the peltries belonging to the others, in order to spare themselves from going out hunting; but they did not dare to disclose their design. The savages are sufficiently politic not to seem to distrust one another; and in regard to news that is announced to them they always suspend their opinions, without letting it appear that often they think the informant is not telling the truth.

Le Brochet and Le Talon, two of the most prominent of the Outaouak chiefs, mistrusting that the Nepiciriniens might be longing to beguile the Kristinaux and the inland tribes, in order to plunder them or else compel them to pay the toll, inquired of some Frenchmen if there was any probability that the pest was at Montreal. The Outaouaks were undeceived. The Mississakis, the Kristinaux, and the Gens de Terre, easy to persuade,



yielded to the opinion of the Nepiciriniens; and the coolness of their behavior was very apparent. A Nepicirinien, meanwhile, encountering a Frenchman, told him that every one was dying [in the colony]; and the Frenchman answered him jestingly: "What! the French, who are enlightened people, and who know what is suitable for the cure of every kind of disease, they are all dying; and you who are ignorant are living?" The Nepicirinien replied to him. "Our spirits have preserved us." "Your spirits," the Frenchman answered, "are incapable of that, and are no better able to do you any good. It is the God of the French who has done everything for you, and who supplies your needs, although you do not deserve it. You are liars; you are trying to deceive and abuse the people who come down the river, so as to plunder them, as you have always done. As the number of men in this fleet is so great as to hinder you from doing that, you are making them afraid, by trying to persuade them that all the French people are dying from an imaginary disease. Know that Onontio sent me a letter when I was at the bay, in which he ordered me to have all the tribes go down [to Montreal], as he wished to see them." And, drawing from his pocket an old piece of paper on which there was writing, which he feigned to be from Monsieur Coursel, he said to him: "[You may] oppose [this voyage], Nepicirinien; but if this fleet goes back I shall continue my journey;" and the Frenchman declared that he would make known to Onontio the opposition that the other had made to this fleet, and how he had hindered the accomplishment of Onontio's purpose. The Nepiciriniens disguised their knavish tricks as best they could, and said that in fact the maladies had ceased when they left [the colony].



All those peoples went down to Montreal, where they were not very well satisfied with the trading; the great quantity of peltries caused the buyers to try to get them very cheaply. Moreover, not only had the *Nepiciriniens* carried away the greater part of the merchandise, but those who held the rest of it tried to make their profits from an opportunity so favorable; the savages murmured at this, and even a disturbance occurred; they cudgeled a sentinel, whose gun they took away, and broke his sword. Some chiefs, who had caused this sedition, were arrested. A number of Iroquois who had come to negotiate a peace, delighted at this hubbub, were very desirous that the minds of people should be further exasperated, so that they could secure an opportunity of coming to hostilities with those tribes; they all hastened at the report of the disturbance, and offered their services to the French. The *Outaouaks*, who as yet had no acquaintance with firearms, saw very plainly that they were not the stronger party. The *Pouteouatemis* were the most discreet, and, although they were not entangled in the midst of these troubles, they were continually dreading lest some disagreeable consequences would happen to them. As at that time a general peace with the Iroquois was being discussed, the commandant at Montreal made the *Outaouaks* go down to Quebec, that they might be witnesses of what should take place for the benefit of all the allied tribes. The *Pouteouatemis*, who had as yet visited the colony but once, were very glad at being included in this visit.

## Chapter XI

The peace was made, accordingly, in 1666; and people began to enjoy this tranquillity, which enabled every one to live prosperously on his own lands, and to trade

among our allies with safety. In truth, nothing was more melancholy than to dwell in the continual anxiety that one might have his scalp torn off at the door of his own house, or be carried away from it among those barbarians, who burned the most of their captives.

It was, besides, for the interest of the colony to make known the glory of the king among all the peoples of the south, of the west, and of the north. The alliance which was beginning to gain footing could not better be strengthened than by assuring them, in their own country, of inviolable protection; and in fact, a little while after those peoples had gone back to their own country, Monsieur Talon, the intendant of Canada, sent thither in 1667 a delegate, with Sieur Perot, who was considered the most competent man to conduct this business. They set out with orders to go to take possession, in the name of the king, of all the country of the Outaouaks. The Saut de Sainte Marie, about the 46th degree of latitude, was the place where the general assemblies of all the tribes were held, and thus there was no locality where this matter could be transacted with more *éclat*. They spent five or six months in notifying the tribes, but none consented except the Puans. Perot decided to go among them himself; but he met Father Aloüet, a Jesuit, who had wintered there [at the Bay], with some Frenchmen, who had encountered there all possible annoyances. Those peoples had been so offended because the French at Montreal had sold them merchandise at an excessive price that, in order to recoup themselves, they sold their beaver pelts at a triple price to the Frenchmen who went among them. But Perot, without heeding the affronts that his compatriots had received from them, concluded to go there. He arrived at the bay in that same year in the month of May, and, finding that they were out fish-

ing, he invited them to return to their village, where he had something important to communicate to them. After they had reached the village, he explained to them the motive which had brought him among them; and they consented, without making any objection, to be present at the [ceremony of] taking possession. It was still necessary to interest the Outagamis, the Miamis, the Maskoutechs, the Kikabous, and the Islinois in the plan. The Pouteouatemis gave him an escort, because the Nadouaissieux had, several days before, [killed] twelve Maskoutechs who were fishing along their river. When he was four leagues distant from their village, he made known to them his arrival; and the chief of the Miamis immediately gave orders that his people should go in warlike array to receive Perot at a place half a league away. At once they marched, in order of battle, decked with handsome ornaments of feathers, and armed with quivers, bows, arrows, and clubs, as if they had intended to fight a battle. They all marched in single file, their clubs uplifted, and from time to time uttered yells. The Pouteouatemis, having perceived this advance, told him that the Miamis were receiving him in martial fashion, and that he must imitate them. Immediately he placed himself at their head, and they rushed upon the Miamis with their guns loaded with powder, as if to check their advance. The head of the file of Miamis passed to the left, making a circuit of five hundred paces in order to surround them, each man keeping at the same distance from those in front and behind him; the head of the file joined the rear, and the Pouteouatemis found themselves all hemmed in. The Miamis, uttering a terrible yell, suddenly came pouring upon them, firing all those arrows above their heads; and when they were almost near enough to deal each



other blows, the Miamis came on as if to attack them with their clubs. The Pouteouatemis fired a volley from their muskets, preceded by frightful cries, over the others, and then all mingled together. Such was the reception by those peoples, who then, with the calumets, made their guests enter the village.

The Frenchman went to the house of the chief of all those tribes, and the others were scattered among the houses of the Miamis. The chief of the Miamis commanded fifty warriors to act as a guard and wait upon him; and several days later entertained him with the game of crosse, in this manner.

More than two thousand persons assembled in a great plain, each with his racket; and a wooden ball, as large as a tennis-ball, was thrown into the air. Then all that could be seen was the flourishes and motion through the air of all those rackets, which made a noise like that of weapons which is heard in a battle. Half of all those savages endeavored to send the ball in the direction of the northwest, the length of the plain, and the others tried to make it go to the southeast; the strife, which lasted half an hour, was doubtful. Games of this sort are usually followed by broken heads, arms, and legs; and often persons are killed therein without any other injury occurring to them. This exercise ended, a woman came to him, in the utmost grief at the sickness of her son; and she asked the Frenchman if, since he was a spirit, he had not power to heal him. The sick man was attacked by a pain in the stomach, through having eaten too much at a feast (which is only too common among them); Perot gave him a dose of theriac.<sup>226</sup> This remedy was so beneficial that at once it was reported among

<sup>226</sup> Theriacs were a kind of medicine highly esteemed during the middle ages; they were composed of opium, flavored with nutmeg, cardamom, cinnamon, and mace—or sometimes with saffron and ambergris.—Ed.



them that he had brought a dead person to life. The result was, that the great chief and two of the most prominent men among them came to awaken the Frenchman during the night, and made him a present of ten beaver robes, in order to induce him to give them some of this remedy. He excused himself, saying that he had very little of it, and refused the robes. Moreover, he told them that he could not do without the remedy in a voyage wherein he might encounter so many dangers, but they begged it from him even more urgently; and they asked him to permit them at least to smell it. This odor seemed to them so delightful that they believed that they would almost become immortal by rubbing the chest with this remedy. The Frenchman was compelled to accept the robes, so as not to make the chief more angry. It is their custom to make presents to those who have spirits (thus they call remedies), which they believed could not produce their effect if one refused their presents. The Frenchman therefore gave them half of the theriac that he had.

It was time to return to the Pouteouatemis; the great chief, accompanied by fifty warriors, intended to go to attend this act of taking possession, but the wind grew so violent upon the lake that they were compelled to give up the voyage. The chief asked the Pouteouatemis to act and respond for him, and for the peoples who were united to his own.

All the chiefs of the bay, those of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and the people of the north, not to mention several other tribes, came to the Saut at the end of May. These peoples being assembled, a stake was planted, and presents were made to them in behalf of his majesty. They were asked if they would acknowledge, as his subjects, the great Onontio of the French,

our sovereign and our king, who offered them his protection; and, if they had not yet decided [to do that], never to acknowledge any other monarch than him. All the chiefs replied, by reciprocal presents, that they held nothing dearer than the alliance with the French and the special regard of their great chief, who lived beyond that great lake the ocean; and they implored his support, without which they could no longer maintain life. *Sieur Perot*, at the same time causing the soil to be dug into three times, said to them: "I take possession of this country in the name of him whom we call our king; this land is his, and all these peoples who hear me are his subjects, whom he will protect as his own children; he desires that they live in peace, and he will take in hand their affairs. If any enemies rise up against them, he will destroy them; if his children have any disputes among themselves, he desires to be the judge in these."

The [governor's] delegate then attached to the stake an iron plate on which the arms of the king were painted; he drew up an official report of the transaction, which he made all the peoples sign [by their chiefs], who for their signatures depict the insignia of their families; some of them drew a beaver, others an otter, a sturgeon, a deer, or an elk. Other reports were drawn up, which were signed only by the Frenchmen who took part in the act. One of these was dextrously slipped between the wood and the iron plate, which remained there but a short time; for hardly had the crowd separated when they drew out the nails from the plate, flung the document into the fire, and again fastened up the arms of the king—fearing that the written paper was a spell, which would cause the deaths of all those who dwelt in or should visit that district. The delegate had

orders to go, after the act of taking possession, to make the discovery of a copper mine at Lake Superior, in the river Antonagan; but his conduct in this enterprise was so irregular, to use no stronger expression, that I will content myself with stating that he was sent to Cadie,<sup>227</sup> in order to send him back to France.

The discovery of the Southern Sea was an undertaking on which Monsieur Talon had set his heart, and he cast his eyes on Sieur Joliet to make this attempt. He had traveled in the Outaouak country; and the knowledge of those regions which he already possessed was sufficient to give him enough guidance to make this discovery. His voyage was one long series of adventures, which alone would fill a volume; but, to cut the matter short, he penetrated as far as the Akancas, who dwell three hundred leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi.<sup>228</sup> The Illinois who had accompanied him brought him back by another route, shorter by two hundred leagues, and had him enter the Saint Joseph River, where Monsieur de la Sale had begun a settlement.

The renown of the French was then made known in the most remote countries; and it was something altogether extraordinary to the peoples therein to hear frequent mention of a new nation, so opulent, from which they obtained so many advantages. What did not the Chaouanons undertake, on the mere report of the man who had been delivered from the hands of the Iroquois, and whom the Pouteouatemis sent back to his home laden with French merchandise! They knew that among those [northern] tribes there were some people

<sup>227</sup> Cadie is only a shortened form of Acadie (Acadia), a name somewhat vaguely applied at first, but generally referring to Nova Scotia. — Ed.

<sup>228</sup> An allusion to the voyage (1673) of Joliet and Marquette, who discovered the Mississippi River and explored its course as far as the Arkansas. — Ed.



who were called French, who had shown themselves more sociable than those of their own region, and who were furnishing all sorts of merchandise. This was enough to induce them to profit by this advantage; and forty warriors actually departed, to settle near the Pouteouatemis. During their journey they surprised some Iroquois who were going to make an attack at the Bay of Puans; and of these they killed or captured several. They passed through a village of Miamis, who welcomed them in so friendly a manner that they could not refrain from giving them their Iroquois captives. The Miamis sent these captives to the Outagamis to be eaten, in reprisal for the Iroquois having carried away, a short time before, the people of five [Miami?] cabins. The Outagamis, seeing that this conjuncture was favorable for making an exchange of captives, sent an embassy to the Iroquois.

When the ambassador had crossed [Lake] Micheigan, he encountered eight hundred Iroquois who were coming as a war-party, to attack the first village that they might light upon. The Iroquois then could not forbear to calm their resentment; they promised the ambassador that from that time there would be a barrier between his people and allies, and their own; and that the river of Chigagon<sup>229</sup> should be the limit of their raids. They sent him back with presents, giving him as companions one of their principal men with a young warrior; and

<sup>229</sup> Chicago (a Sauk-Fox appellation derived from *shekagua*, "skunk") was an important locality from an early date; a Miami village was situated there when the first French explorers visited that region, and it was the seat of the Jesuit mission of St. Joseph. Chicago was also the name of a chief of the Illinois about 1725. — *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Cadillac says in his "Relation of Missilimakinak" (1718), section v: "The post of Chicagon comes next. The name means *Rivière de l'ail* [Garlic River], because it produces that plant in very great quantities, wild and without cultivation." This may refer to the wild garlic (*Allium*); but some writers suppose it to mean skunk-cabbage (*Symplocarpus foetidus*). — ED.



at the same time they turned their weapons against the Chaouanons.

This [Iroquois] chief passed through the Miamis, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikabous, where he was received with the honors of the calumet, and loaded with presents of beaver-skins. Those peoples deputed two Miamis to accompany him on his return, in order to treat with the Iroquois for peace. He came among the Outagamis, who exerted themselves to give him proofs of their esteem; and finally he arrived at the bay, where the tribes did not fail to show him the happiness that they felt at his being one of their friends. They presented to him peltries, and two large canoes for transporting the presents which he had received on every side. The Miamis who accompanied the Iroquois followed the lake, and passed the grand Portage of Ganateitiagon, by which they reached Lake Frontenac and Kenté, where there was a French mission and a large village of Iroquois.<sup>230</sup> They went from there to Fort Frontenac, where Monsieur de la Sale was; he gave them many presents, assuring them that he was going to visit them in their own country.

That army of Iroquois was divided into two; six hundred went against the Chaouanons, and two hundred followed the river of Chigagon—where they encountered some Islinois who were returning from Michilimakinak with some Outaouaks, and captured or killed nineteen of them. The Islinois, when they heard of this blow, checked their resentment; they could have gone to attack the Iroquois, but they sent to Onontio (who at

<sup>230</sup> On Quinté (Kenté) Bay, on the north side of Lake Ontario, there was a colony of Cayugas, among whom the Sulpitians of Montreal founded a mission (1668); five years later the Recollect fathers took charge of this field (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. I, 326, and vol. II, 290). Fort Frontenac was at the site of the present Kingston, Ont., a place which was called Katarakoui by the Iroquois. — Ed.

the time was Monsieur de Frontenac, who had arrived in Canada in 1672), a package of beaver-skins, by which they made complaint that the Iroquois had violated the peace. They said that, through fear of displeasing him, they had refrained from going to find the Iroquois and fighting them; but, nevertheless, they asked him for justice. This new governor sent them a collar by Monsieur de la Forest,<sup>231</sup> who directed them to defend themselves in case they were again attacked; but he told them not to set out on the war-path to encounter the enemy in their own country.

It is useless to make peace with the Iroquois; when they can surprise any one alone, they grant him no quarter.

## Chapters XII-XIV

[SYNOPSIS: Chapter xii relates the proceedings of Chevalier de la Salle; in 1676 he visited all the great lakes except Superior, and established friendly relations with the tribes about their shores. On Lake Michigan he constructed a fort, as a center for trading with the Indians; and he shipped a large consignment of pelts to Montréal. In August, 1679, he embarked from Niagara with much merchandise, on a ship which he built there, and safely arrived at Michilimakinak. The Indians were alarmed at this success, forming the idea that if the French could come among them with ships their freedom would be in peril, and that the French would make slaves of them. They dissembled their anger, however, and plotted secretly to destroy the ship,

<sup>231</sup> Guillaume de la Forest was a lieutenant of La Salle, and held command for him at Fort Frontenac until 1685, when he joined Henri de Tonty in Illinois. These two officers obtained permission to engage in the fur trade, which was revoked in 1702, and La Forest was ordered back to Canada. In 1710 he replaced Cadillac as commandant at Detroit, where he died four years later. — ED.

kill all the French, and place themselves under the protection of the English. "They sent deputies in all haste to the Islinois, and to the tribes who dwelt along the route, to advise them to beware of the French. They sent this word to those peoples: 'We are dead; our families and yours will be henceforth reduced to servitude by the French, who will make them cultivate the ground, and without doubt will yoke them as they do their cattle. They have come to Michilimakinak in a fort that floats on the water, which cannot be entered unless they are taken by surprise. This fort has wings, which it can [use] when it sets out to destroy any people. It is to go to the Islinois by way of the lakes, and all the French who trade here are going into their great canoe; and they will be strong enough to make slaves of us all, unless we prevent their undertaking. We are acquainted with the English, who furnish merchandise to us at a more reasonable price than the French do. The French mean to betray us, and lord it over us. These presents—which we send you secretly, so that we may not be discovered—are daggers for massacring all the French who are among you, and for informing you that we will do the same to those who are with us.' The chief of the Sauteurs was more sensible than all those peoples who had sent him presents [asking him] to join that same conspiracy. His reply to them was: 'You are children. You do not know the Englishman, who is the father of the Iroquois—against whom Onontio our father has undertaken war, and whom he has compelled to demand peace; and what he has thus done is only to protect us from the Englishman's barbarous treatment. When you shall have carried out this reckless move which you are proposing, see if the Iroquois will not avail himself of the opportunity to satiate his fury, and his passion for



destroying all the peoples; and if his father, who will be more partial to him than to us, will not abandon us to the kettle of the Iroquois. I know the French governor, who has never betrayed me, and I do not trust the Englishman.' It is astonishing that Monsieur de la Sale had no knowledge of all the schemes that were plotted against him. He traded for all the peltries of those peoples, which he placed aboard his bark; and he left in the vessel only five or six Frenchmen, to whom he gave orders to return [to Niagara] with the first favorable weather; for his part, he continued his journey in canoes, in order to join the men whom he had left at the river of Saint Joseph. Hardly was the bark under sail when a storm arose, which drove it into a small bay, five or six leagues from the anchorage which it had left. The Outaouak deputies who had inveigled the Islinois into their conspiracy, returning, perceived the bark, and went on board. The pilot received them with entire good-will; but the opportunity seemed to them at the moment too advantageous to miss their stroke. They slew all the Frenchmen [footnote, "In 1679"], carried away all the goods that suited them, and burned the bark. It had cost more than forty thousand francs, [and] as much in merchandise, tools, peltries, outfit, rigging, and furniture. Monsieur de la Sale, who, after the tokens of esteem and friendship which those peoples had given him, had never suspected such perfidy, believed that his ship had been wrecked. The savages, on their part, considered themselves freed from a burden which to them seemed heavy; but they did not recognize in it their own good fortune."

[Chapter xiii relates La Salle's adventures in Illinois—his establishment on the Illinois River,<sup>282</sup> his ex-

<sup>282</sup> This post of La Salle's was called Fort St. Louis, and was built on the lofty height called "Starved Rock," near the present Utica, Ill. — Ed.



pedition down the Mississippi (in 1681), and return to France (1683). The Iroquois raided the Illinois country, treacherously breaking the peace they had concluded with the French and their allies; and the tribes thus wronged were consequently irritated against the French, La Salle having assured them of the good behavior of the Iroquois. At Green Bay (chapter xiv) many Indians died from the ravages of an epidemic; and the superstitious people laid the blame for this on the missionaries there, whose destruction they began to plot. A Frenchman (apparently Perrot) so successfully exerted his influence with the savages, at the same time reproaching them for the murder of some servants of the mission, that he induced them to promise that satisfaction should be made therefor, and the danger to the mission was averted. In the same winter [footnote, "In 1683"] a conference was held in the Outagami village, attended by some Frenchmen who, with some Chippewa from the Sault, had come to demand from the Outagamis satisfaction for their retention of certain captives. On this occasion, the following speech was made (again by Perrot, presumably): "Listen, Outagamis, to what I am going to tell you. I have learned that you are very desirous to eat the flesh of Frenchmen. I have come, with these young men whom you see, to satisfy you; put us into your kettles, and gorge yourselves with the meat that you have been wanting." Then, drawing his sword from his scabbard, he showed them his body, and continued: "My flesh is white and savory, but it is very salt; if you eat it, I do not think that it will pass the Adam's-apple without being vomited." The foremost war chief at once answered, "What child is there who would eat his father, from whom he has received life? Thou hast given birth to us, for thou didst bring us the

first iron; and now thou tellest us to eat thee." The Frenchman replied to him: "Thou art right in saying that I gave thee birth; for when I came to thy village all of you were in wretched condition, like people who do not know where to halt, and who come forth from the deepest part of the earth. Now, when you are living in peace, and are enjoying the light which I have obtained for you, you are desiring to trouble the country, to kill the Sauteurs, and to bring low those whom I adopted before I did you. Vomit up your prey; give me back my body, which you wish to put into your kettle; and fear lest the fumes which will rise from it, if you cook it, will stir up vapors that will form stormy clouds which will extend over your village—which will be in a moment consumed by the flames and lightnings that will issue from them; and these will be followed by a shower of hail, which will fall with so much violence on your families that not one of them will be safe. You forget that your ancestors and yourselves have been vagabonds until now; are you weary of living in comfort? Vomit up [your prey]. Believe your father, who will not abandon you until you compel him to do so. Listen to my words, and I will settle this unpleasant affair (which you have brought on yourselves) with the Sauteurs." Nothing more was necessary to secure the return of the captives. On another occasion, "a Saki hung up the war-kettle, against the opinion of all the chiefs of his tribe. Some of his party entered the cabin of a Frenchman, who was lying on his bed. Suspecting that they came to say adieu to him, he pretended to snore; the others waited for the moment when he could be awakened. The Frenchman, suddenly arousing, like a man who comes out of a heavy sleep, said aloud, in the Saki language, 'The Sakis who are going to war will be

defeated.' Those warriors asked him what was the cause of his agitation. He told them that he had just dreamed that he saw, in the plains north of the Mississippi, on this side of the Sioux village, a camp of Nadouaissieux, in which there was a lighted fire, and a great troop of black dogs, and some white dogs. These animals, meeting there, had a fight, and the black dogs devoured the white ones, except the largest one, who remained the last one alive, and he was entirely exhausted. He said that he himself had tried to escape from their jaws, but all the black dogs rushed toward him to devour him; and the fear of being actually torn in pieces had caused him to awake, with the startled appearance which they had just remarked. This fiction had more effect than all the solicitations of those chiefs, who could not prevent this war-party, formed so unseasonably; for those young warriors went about relating the danger of the Frenchmen; they interpreted the sense [of this dream] by representing the Nadouaissieux as the black dogs, and the Sakis as the white ones; and they did not fail to say that the spirit had availed himself of the Frenchman, in this emergency, to turn them aside from an enterprise which without doubt would have been fatal to them." The rest of the chapter is occupied with an account of the expedition against the Iroquois country by Governor la Barre, evidently drawn from Perrot's relation in his *Mémoire*.]

## Chapter XV

The name of Frenchman was rendered worthy of respect in all places; and the more remote peoples who had profited by the advantages of alliance with the French experienced a great change from the former condition in which they were; when they waged war against



sóme tribes who were unknown to us, they were able to end it to their own advantage by favor of the arms that they had obtained from us. The more discoveries we made, the more we desired to make. The north was known to us, and the south gradually became so; but it still remained to penetrate into the west, where, as we had knowledge, many peoples dwelt. Monsieur de la Barre in the spring [footnote, "1683"] sent twenty Frenchmen to attempt this enterprise, under the direction of Sieur Perrot, to whom he gave letters-patent as commandant of that region. When they had gone fifty leagues from Montreal, they met some Outaouaks, who were coming down to that city; and usage demanded that travelers who met each other should land on the shore, in order to give mutual information of the news on both sides. These Outaouaks said that the Sauteur tribe had been destroyed by the Outagamis, and that they themselves were going to Onontio, their father, to ask him for [fire]arms, in exchange for peltries, in order to avenge the Sauteurs. Although those peoples might often have quarrels, it was nevertheless to the interest of the colony to prevent them from destroying one another. The commander of these twenty Frenchmen sent information of this matter to Monsieur de la Barre, who wrote to the Jesuit fathers and the commandant at Michilimakinak to prevent the Outaouaks from making any attack on the Outagamis. The Outaouaks, rightly suspecting that Monsieur de la Barre was not favorable to their designs, and that all the letters entrusted to them might furnish obstacles thereto, burned the letters, excepting the one which was addressed to Perrot, because they imagined that, as he was a friend to them, he at least would favor them in their schemes. All that they said to the Jesuits on their arrival was, that Onontio had



[given] them the Outagamis "for broth." The very opposite was learned from the letter which Perrot received, in which Monsieur de la Barre expressly forbade that the Outaouaks should commit hostile acts against the Outagamis, and directed him to settle their dispute.

A Sauteur chief had a daughter eighteen years old, who had been for a year a slave among the Outagamis, and whom he could not redeem. In this wretched situation, the dread which he felt that, if he made any attempt to demand the girl, he himself would be burned by them, took away his courage; [but now] he resolved to do it, and joined our Frenchmen. All the tribes at the bay had carried to the Outagamis a great many presents, in order to ransom this girl, but nothing had been sufficient to move them; it was even feared that she would be sacrificed to the shades of the great chief whom the Sauteurs had slain. This afflicted father found no consolation in any of the places through which he passed, because the people there told him that the Frenchmen, as they were not, like themselves, relatives of the Outagamis, could never get possession of his daughter. Perrot made him remain at the bay, for fear that the Outagamis would snatch him away from the French and put him on the gridiron. As soon as he arrived at their village they approached him, all bursting into tears, and relating to him the treachery of the Sauteurs and the Nadouaissious. They told him that their great chief had been killed in the fight, with fifty-six of their men; and that, although they had only two hundred men, they had routed the enemies, who numbered eight hundred fighting men. This discourse gave him an opportunity to speak of that girl; and, having called them to an assembly, he spoke to them as follows:

“Old men, chiefs, and young men of the Outagamis, listen to me. I have had information that, in order to form a solid peace between the Sauteurs and Nadouaisious, through a conference which we had together, the former had invited the latter to put you and your families into their kettles. It is the Spirit who created all who has made known to us the peril in which you have been; and we have prayed him to take pity on you, asking that his almighty power may deliver you from the treachery of your enemies, who have not obtained any of your spoils, nor the scalps of your dead. He has made you masters of the field of battle; you have made prisoners of their men, and you have cut off the heads of those whom you have slain, which is the final proof of a savage’s valor. You ought not to ascribe the victory to your own bravery; it is that Spirit who has fought for you whom you ought to acknowledge as your deliverer. What do you mean to do with this Sauteur girl whom you have so long kept back? Is keeping her here likely to appease your anger against her people? She belongs to me, and I demand her from you. I am your father, and it is the Spirit who has employed me to come among you, as the first Frenchman who has opened the door of your cabin. All these peoples of the bay, who are my children, are your brothers; foreseeing your refusal, they dread the evils that threaten you. Swallow your desire for vengeance, if you desire to live.” While talking to them, he held his calumet in his hand; he held it to the mouth of the brother of the great chief, to have him smoke, but the latter refused it; then he presented it to others, who accepted it. Then he filled it with tobacco, and again presented it to the first man, as many as three times; but he refused it, as he had done before, which constrained Perrot to leave the room instantly, very in-

dignant. The Outagamis are of two lineages; those of one call themselves Renards, and the others are of the Red-earth family.<sup>233</sup> The man who refused the calumet was chief of the Renards, who had taken the place of his brother. The chief of the Red Earth followed Perrot, and conducted him into his own cabin, where he called together all the old men and warriors of his tribe, and spoke to them thus:

"You have heard your father Metaminens" (that is the name by which he was known), "who desires to give us life, and our brothers the Renards are trying to take it away from us, desiring us to be forsaken by the Spirit, to whom they refuse a slave girl. Bring me some kettles, and I will talk to them; I will prove their good-will, and I will see if they will refuse me. I have always been the prop of their village, and my father and dead brother have always exposed themselves to danger in their behalf, having lost many young men in order to defend them; if they refuse me, I will let another use my fire, and I will abandon them to the fury of their enemies."

After these kettles and some merchandise had been brought to him, he took his calumet and with a retinue of his lieutenants entered the cabin of that stubborn man, and said to him: "My comrade, behold the calu-

<sup>233</sup> Cf. this statement with that in Major Marston's letter of 1820 (which immediately follows La Potherie's account); there, as in various other authorities, the names Fox and Renard are applied to the Musquaki, their own appellation for their tribe. The apparent discrepancy is explained by William Jones (*Handbook Amer. Indians*, 472) as a misunderstanding by the French who first met some of the Fox clan, and thereafter applied the name of the clan to the whole tribe. Hewitt says (*ut supra*, art. "Squawkihow"): "The signification of *Muskwaki* is 'red earth,' and may have been originally employed in contradistinction to *Osauaki* or *Osawki*, 'yellow earth,' the base of the tribal name 'Sauk.'" Miss Owen confirms this statement thus (*Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians*, 18): "'Musquakie' means 'Fox,' whether reference is made to the animal or the tribesman, in Saukie, Kickapoo, and Musquakie, though the Saukies say jokingly that Geechee Manito-ah ["the Great Spirit"] made the Saukie out of yellow clay and the Squawkie out of red."—Ed.



met of our ancestors who are dead. When any emergencies occurred in our village, they offered it to thy ancestors, who never refused it. I offer it to thee, filled with these kettles, and I entreat thee to take pity on our children, and to give that Sauteur girl to Metaminens, who has asked thee for her." The chief of the Renards smoked, and had all his relatives smoke.<sup>284</sup> The chief of the Red Earth returned to his cabin and told Sieur Perrot, the commandant, that the affair was settled, and that he would have the Sauteur girl. During the night a storm arose, so violent that it seemed as if the entire machinery of the world was broken up; a heavy rain, with lightning and thunder, made so great a tumult that they thought they were lost men. As all the savages are naturally superstitious, they imagined that the Spirit was incensed at them. In the village nothing was heard save the complaints of the old men, who said: "What art thou thinking of, Onkimaouïassam? dost thou intend to cause the death of thy children? Dost thou love the Sauteur girl better than the families of thy own village? Didst not thou understand what was said to thee by Metaminens, who loves us and desires to give us life?"

<sup>284</sup> Smoking was found among the aborigines of America by the earliest discoverers. The natives took the fumes of tobacco as a cure for disease. "Tobacco or some mixture thereof was invariably smoked in councils with the whites and on other solemn occasions. No important undertaking was entered upon without deliberation and discussion in a solemn council at which the pipe was smoked by all present. The remarkable similarity in smoking customs throughout the continent proves the great antiquity of the practice." It was used much like incense, and was offered to idols by women as well as men; and this practice was also observed as a compliment to distinguished visitors. "In religious ceremonies in general the priest usually blows the smoke over the altar to the world-quarters." Sometimes the decoration of pipes and their stems has great ceremonial and ethnic significance. "Every individual engaged in war, hunting, fishing, or husbandry, and every clan and phratry made supplication to the gods by means of smoke, which was believed to bring good and arrest evil, to give protection from enemies, to bring game or fish, allay storms, and protect one while journeying." — JOSEPH D. MCGUIRE, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



Cleanse thy mat from this filth, which will infect our land." Their fright had driven them so beside themselves, that they believed that the Spirit was going to engulf them in ruin. Onkimaouïassam himself no longer knew where he was. He was subdued, and no longer dared appear before Metaminens—who was delighted at this fear, because he well knew that it was the certain means for his obtaining that slave quickly, without the aid of any one whatever.

Onkimaouïassam went to the chief of the Red Earth, and asked him to take the girl from him, saying, "I do not dare to go before Metaminens; here is the Sauteur girl; take her." The other answered him, "It is for thee to give her up, in order that he may think that the offer comes from thee, and so not bear thee so much ill-will." Meanwhile the rain fell without ceasing; they entered the cabin of Perrot with the girl, entreating him to check this scourge which menaced them, and to prevent the Sauteurs and their allies from making war on them any longer. He returned them thanks by a present of tobacco and a kettle, at the time when he saw that very soon the rain was going to stop—telling them that this kettle would serve them for a roof to shelter them from the rain, and that they should smoke their pipes in peace, without fearing that the Spirit would punish them. Perrot, not considering himself a sufficiently good prophet to make the rain cease, rightly judged that if he remained much longer with his prisoner the aspect of affairs might change. He took leave of them, notwithstanding the bad weather, promising them that it would clear up before he arrived at the bay. After having sent the Sauteur his daughter, he went back across the country, in order to deter the people of that tribe from attacking the Outagamis in case they had that intention.

He informed them that he had taken the girl out of the kettle of the Renards, having delivered up his own body to their rage; that he was going to live among the Renards in order to assure them that the former tribe should not make any move [against them]; that he took care, therefore, not to act heedlessly; and that if people were indiscreet enough to try to exasperate the minds of the Renards, they would break his head. He told the Sauteur that, if he were slain by them, he might expect that the French would avenge Perrot's death on himself and on his tribe; and he gave him twelve brasses of tobacco, that he might present it to his chiefs [at home]. The chiefs at the bay were not a little surprised at the success obtained by the Frenchman; and they declared that one needed to be a spirit, like him, to obtain what all the peoples of the bay had not been able to accomplish with all their presents.

The curiosity of our Frenchmen whom Monsieur de la Barre had sent out was greatly excited by all the conversations which the savages held with them. The only talk at the bay was of new tribes, who were unknown to us. Some said that they had been in a country which lay between the south and the west; and others were arriving from the latter direction, where they had seen beautiful lands, and from which they had brought stones, blue and green, resembling the turquoise,<sup>235</sup> which they wore fastened in their noses and ears. There were some of them who had seen horses, and men re-

<sup>235</sup> "Stones of greenish hue were highly valued by the American aborigines, and this was due, apparently, to the association of certain religious notions with the color." Turquoise is found in many localities in the southwestern states, and was mined by the natives in pre-Spanish times in New Mexico and Arizona. "The turquoise is highly prized by the present tribes of the arid region, and is ground into beads and pendants, which are pierced by the aid of primitive drills; and is made into settings for mosaic work."

— W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

sembling the French; it must be that these were the Spaniards of New Mexico. Still others said that they had traded hatchets with persons who, they said, were in a house that walked upon the water, at the mouth of the river of the Assiniboüels,<sup>286</sup> which is at the Northern Sea of the west. The river of the Assiniboüels flows northward into the Bay of Husson [i.e., Hudson]; it is near Fort Nelson.

All these reports aroused [the desire] to attempt some discovery of importance. The Frenchmen therefore set out from the Bay of Puans with some savages who had accompanied Islinois warriors in the west, where they had been making raids. At their arrival opposite the Miamis and Maskoutechs, they met fifty Sokokis<sup>287</sup> and Loups, from those who had been with Monsieur de

<sup>286</sup> The Assiniboin (Assinipoualaks, etc.) are "a large Siouan tribe, originally constituting a part of the Yanktonai," from whom they appear to have separated early in the seventeenth century, and probably in the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi, whence they moved northward and joined the Cree. As early as 1670 they were located about Lake Winnipeg, and a century later they were scattered along the Saskatchewan and Assiniboin Rivers. Up to 1836 they numbered from 1,000 to 1,200 lodges, trading on the Missouri River, when the smallpox reduced them to less than 400 lodges, and in 1856 there were only 250 lodges. They now number some 2,500, of whom somewhat less than half are on reservations in Montana; the rest are in Canadian territory. They have always been nomadic in their mode of life, and usually at enmity with other tribes—always warring with the Dakota, until brought under control of the whites.—JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>287</sup> The Sokoki were a tribe connected with the Abnaki, and probably a part of the confederacy; authorities differ somewhat, but the best evidence seems to place them in the Abnaki group. They were found by Champlain in 1604 at the mouth of Saco River. After King Philip's War (1675) part of the Sokoki fled to the Hudson River; and in 1725 the rest of the tribe retired to St. Francis, Canada, with some of their allied tribes.—JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

"Loups" was the French translation of "Mahican" (both meaning "wolf"), the name of an Algonquian tribe closely connected with the Delawares; they dwelt on both sides of the upper Hudson River, and eastward into Massachusetts—in which locality those converted to the Christian faith were known as Stockbridges, their descendants now living in Wisconsin. With this exception, the Mahican have lost their tribal identity.—Ed.



la Salle in his voyage of discovery—who, not daring to remain on the war-path of the Islinois, had retired to the bay, in order to hunt beavers there. The great chief of the Miamis, when he knew that Perrot was only three-quarters of a league from his village, came to meet him, in order to invite him to rest in his cabin. This chief told Perrot, in the midst of a feast which he made for him, that his tribe desired to settle near the Frenchman's fire, and begged him to point out to them its location. Perrot told him that he was going to establish himself on the upper Missisipi, this side of the Nadouaissious, where he would serve as a barrier to them, because he knew that they had hostilities with that people. He made presents to the Miamis, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikabouks, of twelve brasses of tobacco, and gave them some kettles. By this present he informed them that they could feel sure that those peoples would not commit any act of hostility, but that they must be cautious hereafter about raising the club against them; that they ought to fasten their hatchets to the sun, because, if they made the least hostile attack on the others, the Nadouaissious would unquestionably believe that the Miamis had settled so near to them only to render easy to their enemies the means of ruining and destroying them; that, as for the rest, if any of the Miamis wished to come to light their fire near him, he would always receive them with great pleasure. In presenting to them the two kettles, he told them that Onontio had abandoned the Islinois to the Iroquois, who would pass by way of Chigagon; and that, if the Miamis went hunting, they should do so along the Missisipi farther down, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Iroquois.

These Frenchmen again embarked with the Sokokis, and, having arrived at the portage which must be made



in order to enter a river that falls into the Missisipi, they met thirteen Hurons who, knowing their intention of making an establishment in the Nadouaissious country, undertook to thwart it and to fight with them, so as to deprive the French of the liberty to trade, and prevent them from furnishing [fire]arms and other munitions to the Nadouaissious. The Hurons tried to get ahead of them in this voyage, but were entirely prevented from doing so, and they would have fared ill if the Sokokis had not appeased the resentment of the French. The latter continued their route until they reached the river, and there they took measures for endeavoring to discover some [new] tribes. This was an undertaking of considerable difficulty, because in that region beyond the Missisipi there are plains of vast extent, entirely uninhabited, in which only wild animals are found. It was agreed that the Puans should make the first discovery; they promised that the French should have word from them within forty days, and that, as soon as the latter perceived great fires on those plains they might be assured that a tribe had been found; and this signal was to be used by both parties. It is the custom of the peoples who inhabit this continent that, when they go hunting in spring and autumn, they light fires on those prairies, so that they can ascertain each other's location. The fire becomes so strong, especially when the wind rises, and when the nights are dark, that it is visible forty leagues away. Those plains abound with an infinite number of cattle, which are much larger than those of Europe, and are commonly called "Islinois cattle;" their hair is quite curly, and finer than silk, and hats have been made from it in France which are as handsome as those of beaver.<sup>238</sup> When the savages wish to take many

<sup>238</sup> Another reference to the buffalo. In the *Jesuit Relations* are several interesting mentions of this animal's wool or hair. Marest wrote from Kaskaskia

of these animals they shut them in with a ring of their fires, which burn the trees, and from which the animals cannot escape. While the Puans crossed those lands, taking their course toward the west and southwest, the French ascended the river in canoes, toward the west; the latter found a place where there was timber, which served them for building a fort, and they took up their quarters at the foot of a mountain, behind which was a great prairie, abounding in wild beasts. At the end of thirty days they descried fires, which were far away; and they also lighted fires, [by which] the Puans knew that the French had established their post.

About eleven days after this signal, some deputies came in behalf of the Ayoës,<sup>289</sup> who gave notice that [the

in 1712 (vol. lxvi, 231) that the Illinois women made with it leggings, girdles, and bags; and he extols its fineness. Cords or ropes were also made of it (vol. lxviii, 133). Joliet told Dablon that from this wool could be made cloth, "much finer than most of that which we bring from France" (vol. lviii, 107).

— Ed.

<sup>289</sup> The Ayoës live at a considerable distance beyond the Missisipi, toward the forty-third degree of latitude. — LA POTHERIE.

The Iowa are one of the southwestern Siouan tribes, of the Chiwere group (see note 195), and of Winnebago origin (see note 199). "Iowa chiefs informed Dorsey in 1883 that their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation;'" and the traditions of those tribes relate that at an early period they all came with the Winnebago from their common home north of the great lakes — the Winnebago stopping on the shore of Lake Michigan, attracted by the abundance of fish, while the others continued southwestward to the Mississippi River. Here the Iowa separated from the main group, and received their name of Pahoja ("Gray Snow"); and near the mouth of Rock River seem to have halted for a time. Thence they moved, successively, up the Mississippi through Iowa to southwestern Minnesota; through Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri; and thence to Missouri River, opposite Fort Leavenworth, where they were living in 1848. In 1824 they ceded all their lands in Missouri, and in 1836 were assigned a reservation in northeastern Kansas; thence a part of the tribe moved later to another tract in Central Oklahoma, which by agreement in 1890 was allotted to them in severalty. Their numbers have varied greatly at different times; in 1760 they were estimated at 1,100 souls, and in 1804 at 800 (a smallpox epidemic having ravaged the tribe the year before); in 1829, at 1,000, and in 1843 at 470. In 1905 the number in Kansas was 225, and in Oklahoma 89. The Iowa appear to have been cultivators of the soil at an early date, and had a reputation for great

people of] their village were approaching, with the intention of settling near the French. The interview with these newcomers was held in so peculiar a manner that it furnished cause for laughter. They approached the Frenchman [i.e., Perrot], weeping hot tears, which they let fall into their hands along with saliva, and with other filth which issued from their noses, with which they rubbed the heads, faces, and garments of the French; all these caresses made their stomachs revolt. On the part of those savages there were only shouts and yells, which were quieted by giving them some knives and awls. At last, after having made a great commotion, in order to make themselves understood—which they could not do, not having any interpreter—they went back [to their people]. Four others of their men came, at the end of a few days, of whom there was one who spoke Islinois; this man said that their village was nine leagues distant, on the bank of the river, and the French went there to find them. At their arrival the women fled; some gained the hills, and others rushed into the woods which extended along the river, weeping, and raising their hands toward the sun. Twenty prominent men presented the calumet to Perrot, and carried him upon a buffalo-skin into the cabin of the chief, who walked at the head of this procession. When they had taken their places on the mat, this chief began to weep over Perrot's head, bathing it with his tears, and with moisture that dripped from his mouth and nose; and those who carried the guest did the same to him. These tears ended, the calumet was again presented to him; and the chief caused a great earthen pot, which was filled with tongues of buffaloes, to be placed over the fire. These were

industry; also they hunted the buffalo, and made and sold the "redstone" (catlinite) pipes.—J. O. DORSEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.



taken out as soon as they began to boil, and were cut into small pieces, of which the chief took one and placed it in his guest's mouth; Perrot tried to take one for himself, but the chief refused until he had given it to him, for it is their custom to place the morsels in the guest's mouth, when he is a captain, until the third time, before they offer the dish. He could not forbear spitting out this morsel, which was still all bloody (those same tongues were cooked that night in an iron pot); immediately some men, in great surprise, took their calumet, and perfumed them with tobacco-smoke. Never in the world were seen greater weepers than those peoples; their approach is accompanied with tears, and their adieu is the same. They have a very artless manner, also broad chests and deep voices. They are extremely courageous and good-hearted. They often kill cattle and deer while running after them. They are howlers; they eat meat raw, or only warm it over the fire. They are never satiated, for when they have any food they eat night and day; but when they have none they fast very tranquilly. They are very hospitable, and are never more delighted than when they are entertaining strangers.

Their eagerness to obtain French merchandise induced them to go away to hunt beaver during the winter; and for this purpose they penetrated far inland. After they had ended their hunt forty Ayoës came to trade at the French fort; and Perrot returned with them to their village, where he was hospitably received. The chief asked him if he were willing to accept the calumet, which they wished to sing for him; to this he consented. This is an honor which is granted only to those whom they regard as great captains.\* He sat down on a hand-

\* For description of the calumet, see *footnote* 139.



some buffalo-skin, and three Ayoës stood behind him who held his body; meanwhile other persons sang, holding calumets in their hands, and keeping these in motion to the cadence of their songs. The man who held Perrot in his arms also performed in the same manner, and they spent a great part of the night in singing the calumet. They also told him that they were going to pass the rest of the winter in hunting beaver, hoping to go in the spring to visit him at his fort; and at the same time they chose him, by the calumet which they left with him, for the chief of all the tribe. The Frenchmen returned to their fort, where they found a Maskoutech and a Kikabouc, who informed them that the people of their villages had followed them; and that they were at a place eighteen leagues above there, on the bank of the river. They reported that some Frenchmen had invited the Miamis to settle at Chigagon, to which place they had gone despite the warning that had been given them, that the Iroquois were to go thither in order to descend thence against the Islinois; but that, as for their people, they had considered it more expedient to come to look for Perrot and his men, entreating the Frenchmen to direct them in what place they should light their fires. Two days later, Perrot set out with them, and the people were full of joy at seeing him; he lodged at the house of Kikirinous, the chief of the Maskoutechs, who feasted him on a large bear which the chief had caused to be boiled whole. This chief asked from him the possession of a river which watered a beautiful region that lay not far from the place where they were; and at the same time he asked for protection for all the families of their tribes, and that the Nadoüaïssioux might be kept from annoying them. [He said that] they were making a peace with the latter, the petitioner himself being its

mediator; and assured Perrot that he would bring hither a large village of Isolinois, whose promise he had obtained. Perrot hardly dared to rely upon their promise, because he knew that most of them were man-eaters, who loved the flesh of men better than that of animals.<sup>240</sup> He told them that he did not like to have those people for neighbors; that he was sure that they were asking to settle near him with the intention of making some raids on the Ayoës, when the latter were least expecting it; and that he could not, moreover, make up his mind to hinder the Nadoüaissieux from annoying his present visitors. They told him that they were surprised that he should doubt his own children; that he was their father, and the Ayoës their younger brothers, and therefore the latter could not strike them without striking him also, since he laid them in his bosom; and that they had sucked the same milk which they desired again to suck. They entreated him to give them in return some [fire]arms and munitions. The Frenchman, having no answer to give them, had them smoke in his calumet, and told them that this was his breast which he had al-

<sup>240</sup> Cannibalism (a word derived from *Carib* through Spanish corruption) has been practiced in one form or another among probably all peoples at some period of their tribal life; and we have historical records of its occurrence among many of the tribes north of Mexico — whether as a matter of ceremony, of hunger, or even of taste. Among the tribes who thus practiced it were: the Algonkin, Iroquois, Assiniboin, Cree, Foxes, Miami, Ottawa, Chippewa, Illinois, Kickapoo, Sioux, and Winnebago; the Mohawk and some of the southern tribes were known to their neighbors as “man-eaters.” Cannibalism was sometimes accidental, from necessity as a result of famine; “the second and prevalent form of cannibalism was a part of war custom and was based principally on the belief that bravery and other desirable qualities of an enemy would pass, through actual ingestion of a part of his body, into that of the consumer. Such qualities were supposed to have their special seat in the heart, hence this organ was chiefly sought;” it belonged usually to the warriors. “The idea of eating any other human being than a brave enemy was to most Indians repulsive. . . . Among the Iroquois, according to one of the Jesuit fathers, the eating of captives was considered a religious duty.” — A. HRDLICKA, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

ways presented to them to give them nourishment; that he was going soon to give suck to the Nadoüaïssioux; and that the latter had only to come and carry them away, if they so desired, at the very time when these people might swear to destroy them. He promised to restrain the Nadoüaïssioux if the latter came in war against them, and that if they did not obey his orders he would declare himself their enemy, provided that these people did not betray him. They went hunting the rest of the winter—for large game rather than for beaver, in order to provide food for their women and children.

Some Frenchmen went to notify the Nadoüaïssioux not to make any mistakes in their pursuit of game when they should encounter some Sokokis who were hunting beaver along the river. They found on the ice twenty-four canoes of Nadoüaïssioux, delighted to see these Frenchmen; and the latter returned to their village to carry this news.











Q.11

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